REPORT RESUMES

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BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, CHANGE AND CONTRAST--THE CHILDREN AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION.

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A SPECIAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATED EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN BALTIMORE RELATED TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE INNER CITY. OBSERVATIONS WERE MADE AT 24 SCHOOLS IN THE INNER CITY, THE OUTER EDGES OF THE CITY, AND THE INTERMEDIATE AREAS. MOST OF THE PROBLEMS WERE ROOTED IN THE SLUMS WHERE THE MAJORITY OF PUPILS ARE NEGRO, TEACHERS ARE UNDERPAID, BUILDINGS ARE INADEQUATE AND POORLY MAINTAINED, SCHOOLS ARE UNDERSTAFFED, AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IS UNDERFINANCED. BECAUSE OF YEARS OF NEGLECT, SLUM SCHOOLS FAIL TO PROVIDE DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS WITH EDUCATION EQUAL TO THAT PROVIDED IN THE CITY'S PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SUBURBAN SCHOOLS. DATA ARE GIVEN CONCERNING PERCENTAGE OF PROVISIONAL TEACHERS, CONTINUED USE OF INADEQUATE FACILITIES, EXTENT OF RECENT SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS, DISPARITY BETWEEN STATE AND CITY PER-PUPIL COSTS FOR INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPLIES, BUDGET REQUESTS AND APPROPRIATIONS, TAX SUPPORT, CLASS SIZE, RATIO OF STAFF TO PUPILS AND TEACHER EARNINGS. SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS INCLUDE IMPROVING THE FINANCIAL BASE FOR THE CITY'S SCHOOL SYSTEM AND ENGAGING THE CONSTRUCTIVE ASSISTANCE OF CIVIC AGENCIES AND OFFICIALS PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR INITIATING ACTION. SANCTIONS AGAINST THE CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM'S LACK OF CORRECTIVE ACTION ARE APPENDED. (JK)

★ REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION ★

ED012094

Baltimore, Maryland

CHANGE AND CONTRAST—THE CHILDREN AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

National Education Association
Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities

EA 000 494

MAY 1967

[redacted]

The National Education Association, with its affiliated organizations, represents more than one million American teachers and, therefore, is in a position to speak for the teaching profession of the United States.

In 1941 the National Education Association organized the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education to help develop understanding of the important relationship between a better education for all our people and the maintenance of our American democracy and way of life and to bring to the teaching profession greater strength and unity in working for increased democracy in and through education. In 1961 the Representative Assembly merged the Commission with the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom to form the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities. The functions of this Commission are—

1. To defend members of the teaching profession, schools, and the cause of education against unjust attacks; to investigate controversies involving teachers and schools justly, fearlessly, and in the public interest.

2. To encourage the development and use of personnel policies that attract and hold competent professional personnel and prevent unnecessary difficulties.

3. To aid in improvement and extension of state tenure legislation.

4. To promote the civil and human rights of members of the teaching profession and foster conditions of academic freedom under which teachers may safely teach the truth without fear or favor.

5. To gather information about the various individuals and groups who criticize or oppose education and make résumés of their activities.

6. To investigate cases of alleged unethical conduct by members of the teaching profession when requested to do so by the Committee on Professional Ethics.

7. To investigate charges and report to the NEA Executive Committee the name of any member who violates the requirements of Article I of the NEA Bylaws.

8. To issue reports and engage in such other activities as are appropriate to the development of better understanding by the profession and the public of the areas of concern which are the responsibility of the Commission.

May 1967
National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities
of the
National Education Association of the United States
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

[redacted]

Baltimore, Maryland

CHANGE AND CONTRAST—
THE CHILDREN AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION

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National Education Association
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MAY 1967

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Foreword

Urban centers of our nation have experienced unprecedented growth rates and population shifts. These changes have produced social, economic, and educational needs which point up serious lags and oversights in our educational programs. Although many cities are trying to deal with tremendous problems, they are likewise confronted with tremendous opportunities. The families who have moved to cities—the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican, the rural white—have taken a giant step for anticipated improvement. The school as a social institution is inextricably woven into the structure of our society, reflecting in its organization and performance the cultural values of the total society. The school has great opportunities to guide every segment of the population into the mainstream of American life.

The majority of Baltimore's public school children are Negro. Although Baltimore was one of the first major border-state cities to integrate its education system, the backlog of inferiority in the Negro-segregated schools shows long years of neglect. While it is not the primary concern of this report to examine the effects of segregation on the quality of education in Baltimore public schools, it is significant that the poorest schools are in the Negro ghettoes servicing the largest number of Baltimore's pupils. The psychological damage done these pupils is immeasurable and has direct bearing on the social development of both Negro and white groups. Research findings indicate that the sociopsychological implications for dominant and subordinate groups cause a common loss and mutual disadvantage.

The report of the Special Committee of the NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities presents an objective picture of Baltimore public schools with the hope that the recommendations may help to chart the way to immediate local action and may serve as guideposts for other urban centers. Among its pertinent recommendations, the Special Committee urges—

- United action of all responsible city officials and citizens to provide financial support—perhaps beyond any heretofore conceivable limit
- A greater commitment on the part of the highest city official—the mayor
- Stronger personal and official responsibility on the part of the City Council
- Full recognition by the superintendent of the unusual opportunity for leadership in the crisis
- Immediate and continuing initiative on the part of the professional education organizations
- Vigorous action by the Greater Baltimore Committee
- Development of plans for a political power coalition.

The Special Committee further makes clear the crucial need for higher quality service from all mass media so that the public may be fully informed; it advises emergency action to protect the lives of children housed in dangerous buildings.

It is imperative that united action come about rapidly in the city of Baltimore in order to assure the children of that community the possibility of attaining quality education for life in our democracy.

Edna Westberry Griffin, *Vice-Chairman*
Commission on Professional
Rights and Responsibilities,
National Education Association

Special Committee for Baltimore School Investigation

Mrs. Vivian R. Bowser, *Chairman*	Classroom Teacher, Houston, Texas; President-Elect, Teachers State Association of Texas
Frank Dick	Superintendent of Schools, Toledo, Ohio
John W. Dodd	Retired Superintendent of Schools, Freeport, New York; Former Member, PR&R Commission
William Hageny	Professor of Education, State University College, New Paltz, New York; Executive Secretary, Mid-Hudson School Study Council
Mrs. Patricia L. Light	Classroom Teacher and Guidance Counselor, Fort Wayne, Indiana; Past President, Fort Wayne Teachers Association
Mrs. Ruth Mancuso	Member, Board of Education, Glassboro, New Jersey; Vice-President, National School Boards Association
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Mr. Morgan was the original coordinator of the study but was replaced by Dr. Kennan when he accepted a new position. Mrs. Veguilla prepared the early drafts of the report; the final drafts were prepared by Mr. Jones and Dr. Kennan.

Introduction

On June 14, 1966, the Public School Teachers Association (PSTA) of Baltimore City invoked professional sanctions against the city "in an effort to halt educational decline." The PSTA had previously issued a warning of the likelihood of sanctions' being invoked because of the erosion of educational conditions in the city and the failure of adequate financial support from the city and from the state (see Appendixes A and B).

In response to requests from state and local association officials, the associate secretary for ethics of the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association (PR&R Commission) and the director of field service of the Maryland State Teachers Association (MSTA) visited Baltimore City on June 15, 1966. It was the opinion of the inquiry team that there was substantiating evidence of deteriorating conditions in the Baltimore Public Schools to the extent that it constituted an emergency that would properly be the concern of the national Commission.

On June 19, 1966, officers and staff members of the MSTA and the PSTA appeared before the PR&R Commission at its meeting in Miami Beach to request an investigation of school conditions in Baltimore.

On June 20, 1966, William G. Carr, executive secretary of the NEA, and Milson Raver, executive secretary of the MSTA, sent a telegram (see Appendix C) to the mayor of Baltimore and to other city and school officials stating that—

> If necessary funds to provide for essential improvements of the educational conditions [of] the city are not forthcoming in the budget under consideration, the National Education Association must be prepared to take the necessary steps regarding the imposition of appropriate state and national sanctions. The Maryland State Teachers Association supports the action of the Public School Teachers Association and joins in this joint statement.

The Representative Assembly of the MSTA on October 15, 1966, voted to support the local teachers association and to apply state sanctions in Baltimore City. This sanction urged all teachers in Maryland and nearby states to "refrain from applying for any professional position in the Baltimore Public Schools" and offered full support to the teachers of Baltimore City in their efforts to improve conditions in the schools of that community and in efforts to seek professional positions elsewhere in Maryland (see Appendix D).

Actions of Special Committee

When the mayor and City Council failed to act to alleviate the school crisis, the NEA-PR&R Commission proceeded immediately to appoint a Special Committee to investigate educational conditions in Baltimore City. The Committee first met in Baltimore on August 21 through 24. At this time it received reports from its consultants and interviewed the mayor, the superintendent, members of the Board of School Commissioners, the president of the City Council, and various other citizens, as well as officials of the state and local teachers associations.

The Special Committee returned to Baltimore on September 22 and 23, at which time the Committee was divided into a number of smaller teams which visited 24 schools in the city in order to observe conditions firsthand. The schools were selected at random, in such a way that each team would visit schools in the inner city, the outer edges of the city, and the intermediate areas. Efforts were made to see that some of the best, as well as some of the poorest, schools were included in the sampling.

Following the visits of the Special Committee to Baltimore, members of the staff carried on a number of research activities to develop background material for the report. This involved visits to Baltimore by the junior technical writer, a photographer, and other members of the staff.

A staff "draft proposal for the Baltimore report in outline form" was sent to the members of the Special Committee on December 8, 1966. The outline was given majority approval by the Special Committee through a conference telephone call on Tuesday, December 13.

On January 27, 28, and 29, 1967, the Special Committee met in Washington, D.C., to review the first draft of the investigation report. The Special Committee made a number of recommendations for changes and additions to the report and urged that the revision be completed as rapidly as possible, in view of the urgency of the requests received from the state and local associations. A revised draft of the report was received from the junior technical writer on Tuesday, March 14. It was immediately sent to members of the Special Committee and the Commission for acceptance or comment. Replies from the Committee and the Commission indicated the need for revision and additions to the report before its release. On March 23, 24, and 27, the director of field service of the MSTA and the executive secretary of the NEA-PR&R Commission met in Washington to prepare a revised draft of the report for submission to the Committee and Commission.

The Special Committee met in New York City on March 29 to review the revised report. The report was approved by the PR&R Commission by means of a conference telephone call on March 31. Three hundred copies of the report were prepared and made available to the state and local teachers associations, so that the information could be made a part of the record of the budget hearings of the Baltimore City Council during the week of April 3 through 7, 1967.

The report subsequently has been prepared in printed form for general distribution.

Purpose of the Report

This investigation has been conducted in the hope that the findings and recommendations of the report will be helpful to the young people, the teachers, and the public school system of Baltimore City. The National Education Association hopes that the objectivity and constructive nature of the study will be recognized. The Committee hopes its report will assist the citizens of Baltimore to reassess their commitment to the education of all of their children, and that its findings and recommendations will serve to strengthen and increase the efforts of educators and citizens of Baltimore who recognize the importance of quality of educational opportunity and of the investment value of education as it affects the future of the city.

The nature of the problem the Special Committee was requested to investigate made it necessary for this study to focus on the bad and deteriorating conditions in the Baltimore public school system. The Committee was aware of some excellent educational facilities in Baltimore and viewed some very good schools, particularly in outlying areas of the city. These good schools, however, do not relieve the city and school officials, nor the city as a whole, of past, present, and continuing culpability for the tragic neglect of children in the inner-city schools.

Although the report is intended principally for its value in Baltimore, it is being made available throughout the nation, because many of the conditions in Baltimore will be found in some degree in other communities, particularly in urban areas.

Findings

The Special Committee came to Baltimore to investigate the reported problems in the public schools—"a deteriorating school system, conditions in the schools and in the city detrimental to education." The Special Committee was able to confirm the reported problems.

The Committee found in Baltimore City teachers underpaid, buildings underequipped and undermaintained, the schools understaffed, and the school system underfinanced by the city. But the Committee also found a city with a steadily decreasing property tax base and financial ability and a steadily increasing need and demand for tax-supported services.

The Committee found that the school system per se is not uniformly bad. Indeed, some very good things happen in the city schools. Some children are attending superior facilities; some children are receiving the benefits of foreign language instruction in elementary school, AAAS science courses, and a physical education program that is advanced in concept and equipment. Some children have access to fine libraries, cafeterias, gymnasiums, and playgrounds in the elementary schools and to fine science, home economics, and language laboratories in the high schools. Some children are receiving training in advanced college preparatory and vocational-technical programs.

On the other hand, some children in Baltimore City are not receiving these things. These are the majority of the children.

The Main Problem

The Baltimore schools and Baltimore City have one main problem to which most of the other problems are related: most of the problems reported to the Special Committee have their roots in the slums.

A city slum is an area of high population density with a concentration of low-income, large families often in neighborhoods formerly occupied by middle-income, small families.

> Urban residences, as they deteriorate, filter down through the socio-economic levels of the population until only the rural migrant finds his lot improved by occupying them. The owner of the property in such an area usually is seeking the largest possible short-run return, and therefore often neglects the maintenance that might have preserved the neighborhoods and the tax base.
>
> As densities build up, the distribution of families is increasingly a function of family income. The poor must stay, regardless of family size, because they lack the capital or credit to purchase suburban homes, or even to rent them under the special restrictions typical of suburbs. Thus, as densities increase, the amount of living space per person available to the low-income families declines toward some level not yet clearly defined where even the poor rebel.[1]

"The Committee found that the school system per se is not uniformly bad."

THE PICTURES ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES ILLUSTRATE SOME OF THE CONTRASTS WHICH WERE DISCOVERED.

Photographs by George de Vincent

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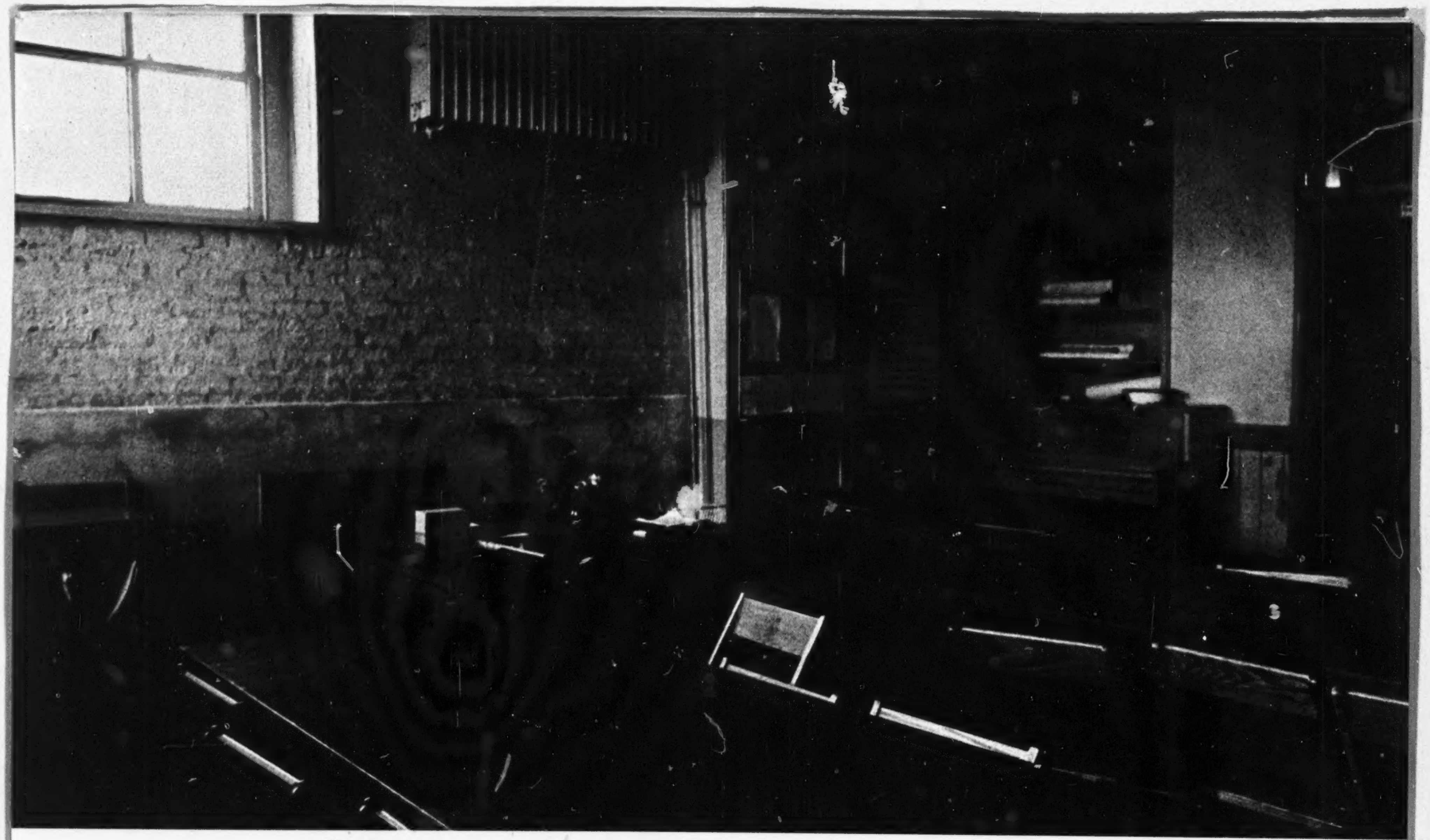
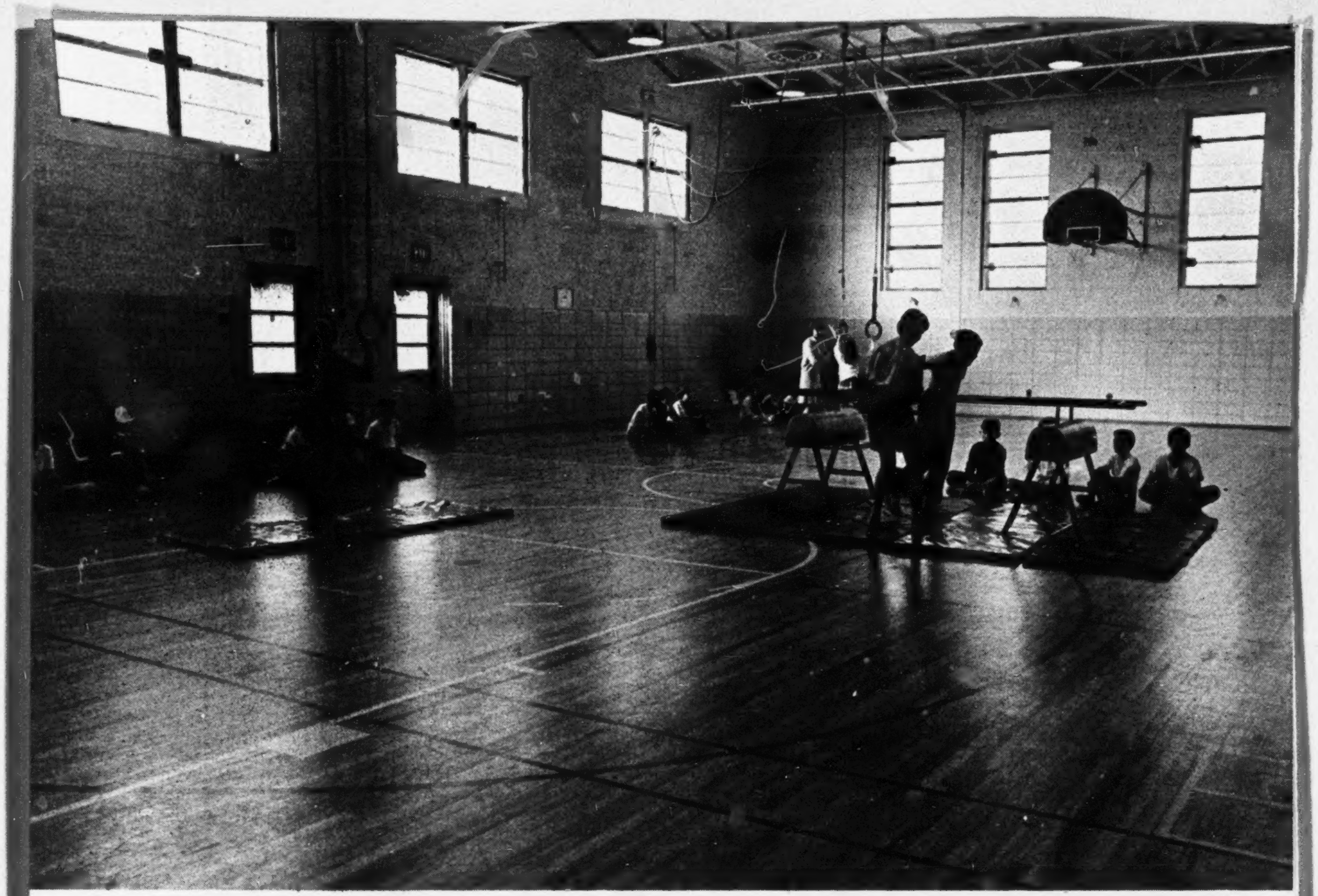
[1] Thomas, James H.; Kelly, James A.; and Garms, Walter I. *Determinants of Educational Expenditures in Large Cities of the United States.* U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project No. 2389. Stanford, Calif.: School of Education, Stanford University, 1966.

"Some children are attending superior facilities. . . ."



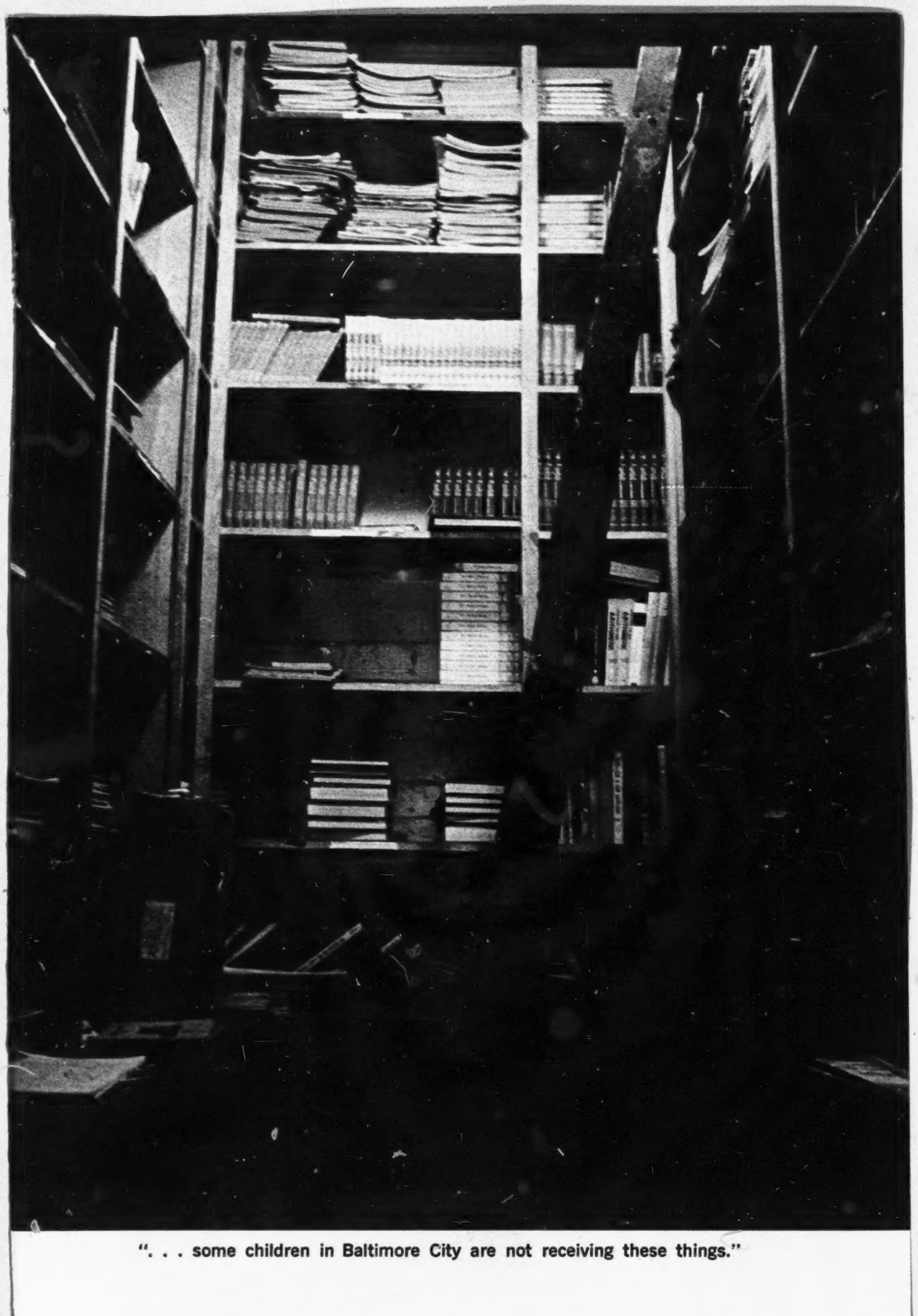
"On the other hand, some children in Baltimore City are not receiving these things."



"Some children are receiving . . . a physical education program that is advanced in concept and equipment."

"... some children in Baltimore City are not receiving these things."

"Some children have access to fine libraries . . ."



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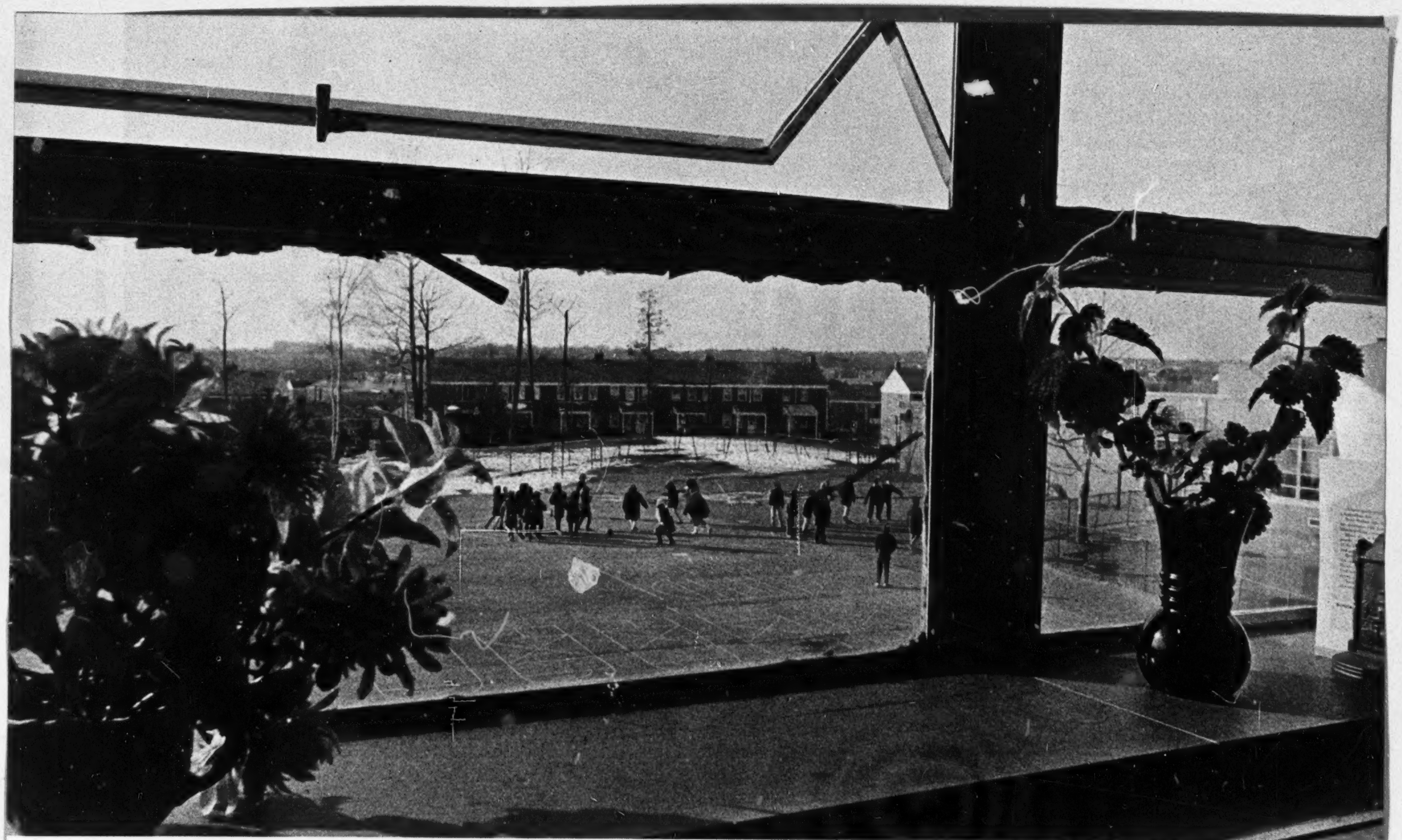
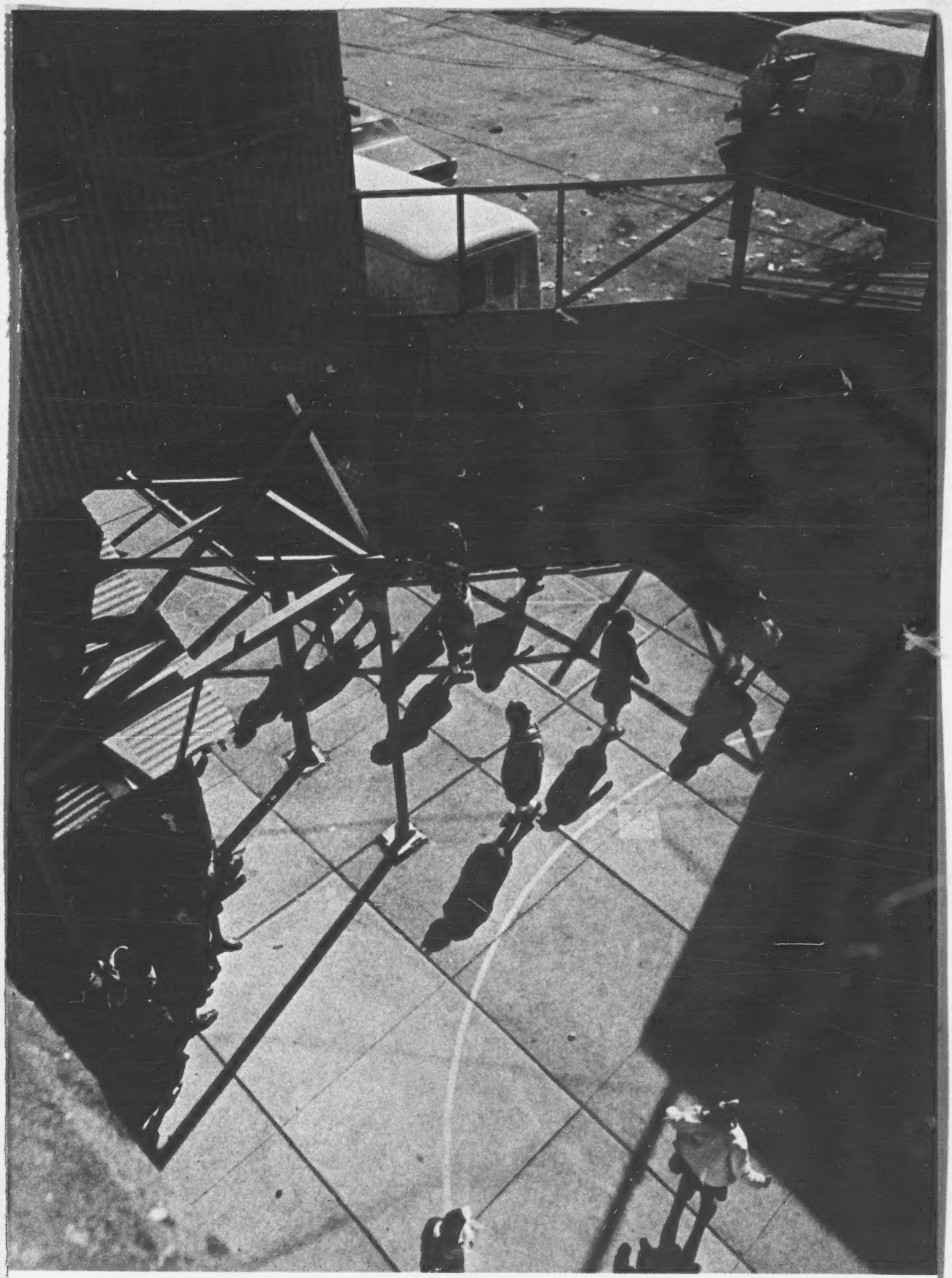
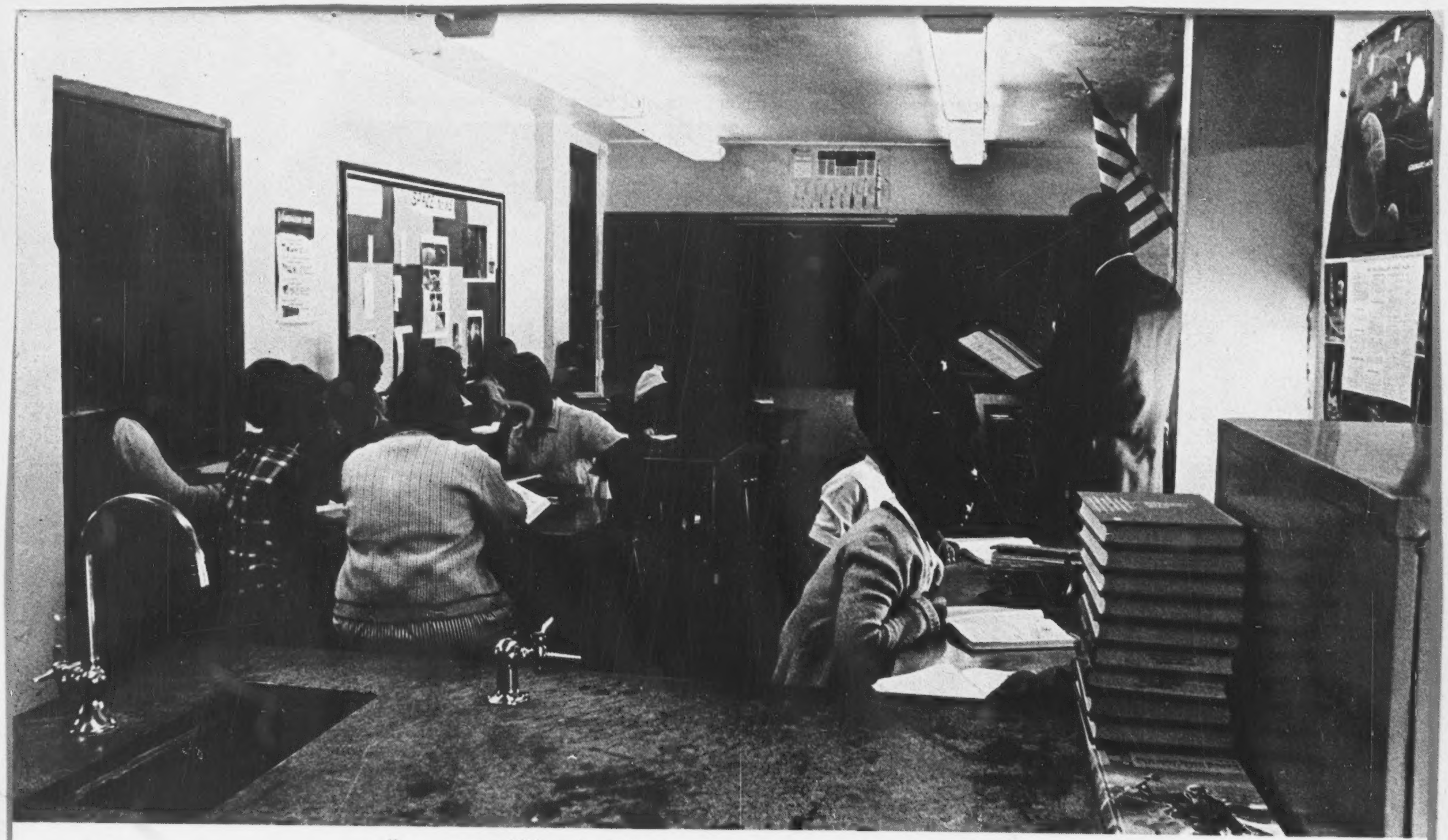


"Some children have access to fine . . . playgrounds in the elementary schools. . . ."



". . . some children in Baltimore City are not receiving these things."

"Some children have access . . . to fine science . . . laboratories . . ."



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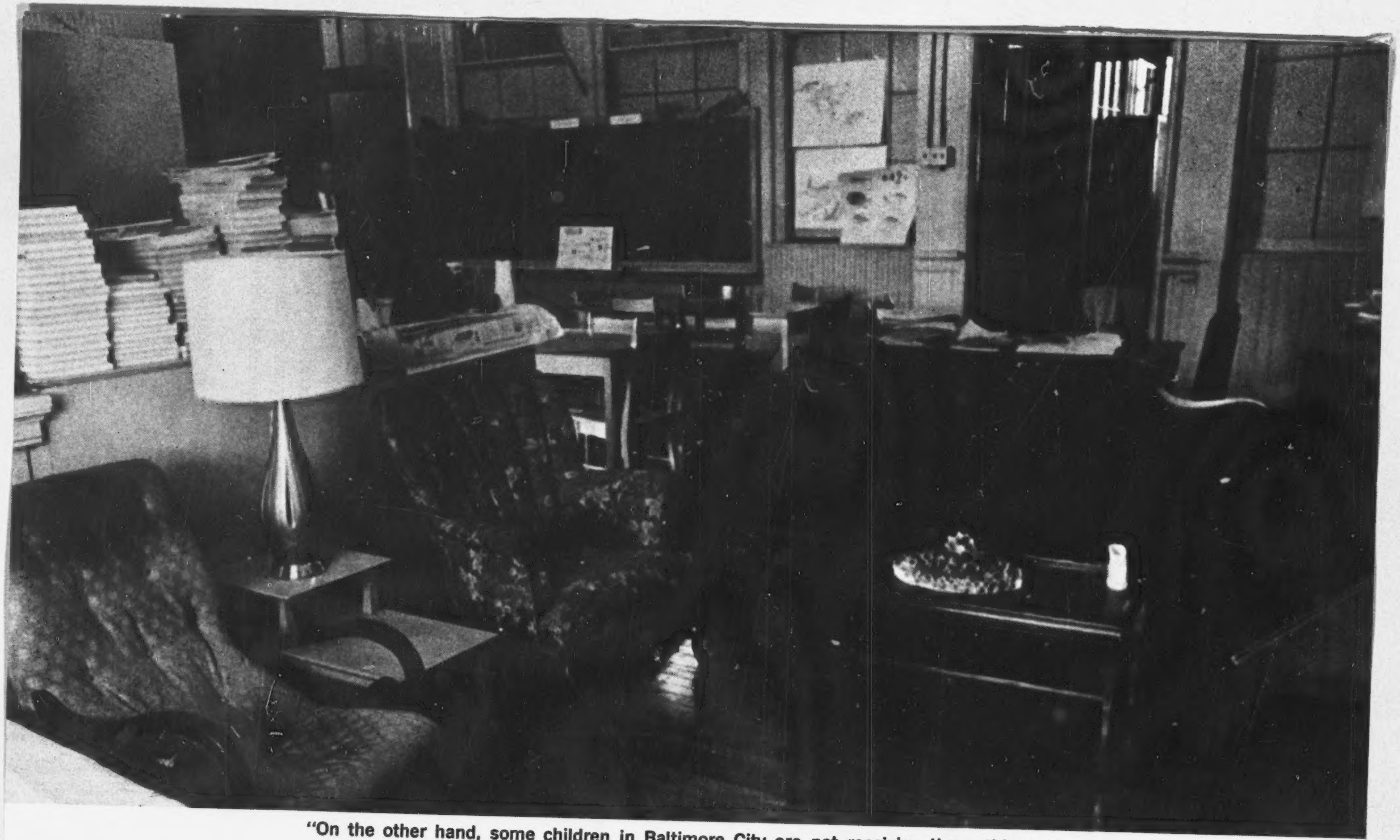
"Some children have access to fine . . . home economics . . . laboratories. . . ."



"On the other hand, some children in Baltimore City are not receiving these things."

One effect of the enforced concentration of low-income families is a lack of financial support of the schools, for one of the reasons the schools are underfinanced by the city is that the city's ability to support the schools has been decreased by the existence of the slums. The real property tax base upon which the city depends to support government services, including education, is deteriorating because of the high proportion of absentee-owned rental property in the core of the city, the lack of improvements and maintenance which decreases the assessed valuation, and the exodus from the city of middle-class residential property owners. The city's housekeeping services—police, fire, public health, and welfare services—are more costly because of the overcrowding in the slums; the increased demand for city services by middle-class commuting residents who require highways, parking, police protection, and recreation facilities; and the tendency of industry to build outside the city to avoid the costs of traffic and vandalism. The combination of decreased income and increased expense lowers the resources available to the city for its schools.

The problems in the Baltimore public schools cannot be solved unless the roots of these problems are acknowledged and their implications faced.

Many of the cities in the eastern part of the United States have been losing their white populations for 40 years. Baltimore did not experience this phenomenon until the 1950's. Before 1954, Baltimore was a completely segregated city, a city of the Old South, and the schools were segregated by law. After the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation of 1954, Baltimore was one of the first affected cities to remove its racial enrollment restrictions.

In the decade 1950 to 1960, Baltimore's white population decreased by 113,000. In the same ten-year period, the Negro population increased by more than 100,000. Between 1960 and 1965, the white population has decreased further by more than 70,000 and the Negro population has increased by 57,000. Negroes now make up 41 percent of Baltimore's population.

The in-migration of Southern Negroes into Baltimore has had a different character than the earlier movement into the other great cities. The earlier migrations took place during periods of high employment. The in-migration into Baltimore has come after the technological revolution. There are no longer many jobs available for the unskilled and semiskilled. Baltimore's industry and construction are increasingly moving out of the center city to the suburban counties, exactly where the Negroes are not. Consequently, the level of unemployment among this group is extremely high, as is the poverty and discontent.

Thirty-six percent of all Negro families in Baltimore City have less than $2,500 a year to live on. Only 3.6 percent of the white families fall into this category. Negroes make up 41 percent of the population, but 87.1 percent of the households that exist on less than $2,500 a year.

At the other end of the scale, 30 percent of the white families in Baltimore have more than $10,000 a year on which to live.

The poor in Baltimore are overwhelmingly Negro, and the affluent in Baltimore are overwhelmingly white. Furthermore, Negroes in Baltimore have a much larger average family size than do whites. In 1960, 17 percent of the white families, but 27 percent of the Negro families, had three or more children. Only 2.7 percent of all white women, but nearly 8 percent of all Negro women, had given birth to seven or more children.[2]

There is as yet no provision for Fair or Open Housing on the Baltimore Municipal Statutes. In Baltimore, the great majority of Negroes are confined to the ghetto, where there is an average land area of 1 square foot per person. Even the more affluent Negroes who have moved out of the heart of the inner-city slums must live in more overcrowded housing conditions than their income should necessitate.

The Baltimore School Population

Since the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation in 1954, the percentage of the public elementary school enrollment that is Negro has grown at an annual rate of between 2 and 3 percent. White children have been withdrawing from the Baltimore public schools at an average rate of between 11,000 and 12,000 a year and entering private and parochial schools in the city or schools in the suburban counties.

In all, more than 60 percent of the elementary school children in Baltimore are the children of the poor—the "disadvantaged," the "deprived," the "dispossessed," the alienated of American society. The vast majority of these children are Negro.

The Relevance of Segregation

Segregation, in and of itself, is not the primary concern of the NEA Special Committee in its examination of the Baltimore public schools. Its primary concern is quality education for Baltimore's children. But segregation is relevant to this. The Supreme Court, in the *Brown* vs. *Board of Education* decision of 1954, stated that separate education is inherently unequal education.

The Special Committee rejects an attitude which presupposes that Negro schools must, by definition, be inferior because they are Negro schools; but the Committee also recognizes, as do many others who have reported, that under the present patterns of support for schools in great cities, Negro children in the inner-city slums are less likely to receive the opportunity for educational excellence than are other children.

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[2] Information gathered from the 1960 Census by Charles Glatt, Ohio State University, consultant to the Committee.

These circumstances, patterns, and traditions need not continue. When they disappear, segregation will lose some of its significance for the quality of education for children. Indeed, unless the present trend is altered—if middle-class white children continue to leave the public schools at the present rate—within less than 15 years *all* of the children in the Baltimore public schools could be the children of poverty, and at least 95 percent of them will be Negroes: integration will then have ceased to be an issue at all.

For the present, segregation is very relevant to the problems in the Baltimore schools. Before the Supreme Court decision on school segregation in 1954, Baltimore maintained a dual school system. If only the years 1954 and 1966 are considered, the Baltimore school system has made progress toward integration. Whereas 100 percent of the elementary school children were required to attend segregated schools in 1953-54, only 78 percent attended them in 1966. But there are many more de facto [3] segregated schools in Baltimore now than there were in 1954. Of the 160 elementary schools, 124 are de facto segregated; and 30 of the 54 secondary and vocational schools are de facto segregated.

Furthermore, resegregation is taking place in the Baltimore schools. The percentage of white pupils attending segregated schools, both elementary and secondary, has increased since 1965, and the same is true of the Negro pupils. In fact, the percentage of Negro pupils attending segregated secondary and vocational schools increased from 64.2 percent in 1965 to 74.3 percent in 1966. Eleven schools have changed racial composition since 1965—four integrated, and seven resegregated.

The School System's Role, 1954 to 1965

Because the Baltimore school system operates under the "neighborhood school concept," much of the segregation within the elementary schools is the result of segregated housing patterns. However, neighborhood segregation does not account for all of the segregation in the elementary and secondary schools and cannot be held accountable for the patterns in the assignment of faculty.

After the Supreme Court Decision of 1954, the Baltimore Board of

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[3] More than 90 percent of one race. Standard used by the U.S. Office of Education.

School Commissioners adopted the recommendation of the then superintendent of schools which stated,

> Present standards pertaining to school admission, grades and curricula shall continue in force, except that the race of the pupils shall not be a consideration.[4]

But at the same time, the School Commissioners adopted, on recommendation of the superintendent, another statement:

> No child shall be required to attend any particular school. Where a building is overcrowded, specific district lines may be established as required by building capacity and neighborhood population. No pupil who lives beyond such a line may then enter the districted school. All pupils hitherto enrolled therein are permitted to remain there.[5]

In view of this policy, the following statement, which also appeared in the School Board report of 1954-56, is not surprising:

> The Baltimore Public Schools rejected the idea of deliberate mixing of the races. Changes in the composition of student bodies came as families changed their places of residence or as pupils applied for transfers for specific educational reasons. Consequently, it was normal that the pattern of school attendance should change slowly at first and only accelerate with the success of the experiment. . . . At the beginning, relatively few changes occurred in the staffing of the schools. As time went on and there were vacancies to be filled, the number of biracial faculties increased. The composition of the pupil population changed more rapidly. Most of the direction of the change followed that of population migration within the city.[6]

By 1958, Negro children constituted more than half of the public school enrollment. At this time, the school system introduced the "track system," "ability grouping," into the junior high schools. Because of the criteria used and the effects of disadvantage, this system tends to promote resegregation. Even today Negro children outnumber white children by 5 to 1 in the elementary "Opportunity" classes, 4 to 1 in the junior high school "Special" classes, 8 to 1 in the senior high school "Special" classes, and 9 to 1 in the senior high school "General Vocational" classes.

There are many measures other than ability grouping which produce, in practice, some degree of segregation by race. Some such measures are listed here.

In 1952, construction was completed on the Mergenthaler Vocational-Technical High School, a school which is recognized as one of the finest of its kind in the country. It was closed to Negro children prior to 1954. In 1955, another vocational-technical high school was built in Baltimore. It was named George Washington Carver and opened with a Negro faculty. This school is entirely Negro. Mergenthaler is still predominantly white—in both faculty and student body.

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[4] *One Hundred Twenty-Second Report of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City to the Mayor and City Council.* July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1956. pp. 5 and 6.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Before 1954, all schools for the exclusive use of Negro children were numbered in the 100's, or, in the case of the high schools, in the 450's (schools in Baltimore, except some of the senior high schools, are traditionally identified by number). In fact, as neighborhoods went from white to Negro before 1954, schools that had been numbered otherwise were renumbered to indicate that they were now intended for Negro children. Twelve schools built between 1954 and 1965 have been numbered in the 100's and have opened with Negro faculties. Nearly every school numbered in the 100's is all-Negro today. All of the schools numbered in the 450's also are Negro.

There are a number of integrated neighborhoods in Baltimore, some of them changing, some remaining relatively stable. There are also a number of Negro and white neighborhoods adjacent to each other. There are, in fact, 14 instances in which there are two schools less than a mile apart and one of the two is all, or predominantly, Negro and the other is all, or predominantly, white.

In September 1963, the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners discontinued the official policy of drawing district lines around particular schools. Since that time the official policy on attendance at a particular school has been that—

- A child may attend any school of his choice, *provided there is room.*
- A child may attend the school nearest his home whether there is room or not.
- No child will be required to attend any school his parent does not want him to attend.

In practice, these "no district lines" policies have permitted operation almost exactly as if there were still district lines.

The policy of allowing transfer to a school "if there is room" does not allow for the possibility of a child's transferring out of a badly overcrowded school to a less crowded one if the less crowded one is operating even slightly over "program" capacity—capacity calculated on the basis of an effective program. And the policy of allowing a child to attend the school nearest his home whether there is room or not has had the effect of reinforcing neighborhood segregation patterns and permitting the existence of a badly overcrowded, white-segregated school within a mile or less of a Negro-segregated school that is operating under capacity. The processing of transfer requests has been left to the discretion of the individual principals in the schools receiving the requests.

In all, these policies relating to the transfer of children tend to reinforce the neighborhood school concept and neighborhood segregation patterns.

The School System's Role, 1965 to 1967

The Baltimore Community Relations Commission's 1965 Survey contains the statement that "the racial distribution of teachers and administrators has changed even less from the duality of the past than has the limited integration of pupils." That statement could not be made today. In 1966, significant progress has been made in the assignment of faculty on an integrated basis. Whereas the number of professional staff members in the school system has increased by only 434, the number of those assigned to racially balanced schools has increased by 1,462 since 1965. Yet 82.9 percent of Negro elementary teachers and 79.5 percent of Negro secondary and vocational teachers are still teaching in all-Negro schools. Forty-six Negro schools have no white teachers. In 1965-66, the superintendent issued a request for teachers to volunteer for service in the inner-city schools. From a staff of almost 8,000 teachers, 150 volunteered; of these, 30 were white.

Other signs of progress toward integration in Baltimore have appeared.

- In 1966, for the first time, Negro teachers were assigned to the prestigious Baltimore Polytechnic Institute (high school).
- The number of Negro students admitted to Mergenthaler Vocational-Technical High School has doubled since 1965; the number of Negro students admitted to the new Northern High School has tripled since 1965.
- This year, for the first time, parents of sixth-grade children were given maps of the school system with all of the junior high schools designated in order to make their choices for enrollment of their children in September 1967.
- A central admissions office has been established to process all requests for entrance and transfer to the senior high schools; thus these procedures have been taken out of the hands of the individual principals.
- The superintendent has recommended the abolition of all ability groupings and track labels. By his count in 1965-66, there were 16 different curricula available in the senior high schools:

Academic
Academic I
Academic II
Academic III
Basic
Basic Business
Business Education
College Preparatory, Advanced
College Preparatory, Business
College Preparatory, Special
College Preparatory, Technical
General Academic
General Basic
General Business
General Technical
Regular Business

How these, and other, innovations in 1966 will affect the racial distribution in the schools remains to be seen, but at least the new procedures should tend to eliminate several possibilities for discriminatory assignment and transfer.

However it has come about, Negro children are largely separated from white children in the Baltimore school system as a whole and within the individual schools. De jure segregation has been replaced by de facto segregation in the Baltimore schools, and the painful process of resegregation has begun.

The mores of the white middle-class community in Baltimore seem to be such that a sizable proportion of the families prefer sending their children to private or parochial schools—where they pay tuition—or moving to the suburban counties to enrolling them in the Baltimore public schools. The white middle class in Baltimore is rapidly separating the educational fortunes and destiny of its children from those of the other children—the Negro children, the children of poverty, the majority of the children. They are doing this by removing them—to other schools, to the counties, or to white enclaves in the city.

The majority of the public school children in Baltimore are the children of the poor—the vast majority of these are the children of the Negro poor. These children live and go to school in the ghetto, where they are trapped by housing restrictions, poverty, and the rigid adherence to the neighborhood schools policy.

The Fruits of History—Enforced Inequality

The slum schools are characterized by the effects of long years of neglect. A Baltimore Department of Education publication published in 1963 included the following:

> Patricia Cayo Sexton in *Education and Income* dramatically reveals gross inequalities between inner and outer great city public schools. Her data indicate that class-size is larger in inner compared to outer-city schools. Inner-city schools also have more overcrowding, larger numbers of children on part-time schooling, and more transported children than outer-city schools. When school buildings and school facilities are compared, outer-city schools in contrast to inner-city schools are decidedly more adequate. Such adequacy in facilities is more conducive to pupil learning. That children in inner-city schools require more adequate diets than those in outer-city schools is self-evident. Yet Sexton found that more inner-city schools than outer did not have cafeterias and did not serve hot or cold meals, free or otherwise. So it is that inner-city children who are most in need of nutritious, balanced, wholesome meals because they are most likely to be undernourished and ailing, cannot too often go to schools where milk and hot meals are available, either free or at modest cost.

> Sexton also discovered sharp contrast between inner and outer-city schools in regard to the training and experience of the school faculty. Educators have always stressed the strategic importance of qualified, well-trained, competent teachers for the production of quality education. . . . But too many poorly prepared teachers or unqualified substitutes are found in inner-city schools—almost one out of every five. Moreover, of those teachers who are qualified, the inexperienced rather than the experienced teacher is assigned to inner-city schools.[7]

The publication related these findings specifically to the Baltimore public schools, saying, "While Sexton's findings pertain to great cities other than Baltimore, it would be presumptuous not to infer that similar conditions exist in Baltimore." And indeed they do exist in Baltimore.

- There are 13 elementary schools in Baltimore operating on part-time (four-hour) double shifts. Ten of these schools are Negro, and the other 3 are integrated. More than 90 percent of the 4,672 children attending school part-time are Negro children.
- Seventy-three elementary schools have no gymnasiums or gym-auditorium combinations; 51 of these are Negro schools, 16 are white, and 6 are integrated.
- Thirty elementary schools have no libraries; 26 of these are Negro schools, 2 are integrated, and 2 are white.
- Thirteen junior high and vocational schools have no gymnasiums. Ten of these are Negro schools, and the other 3 are integrated; none is white.
- Twelve senior high schools have no cafeterias. Eight of these are Negro schools, and 4 are integrated; none is white.
- Sixteen senior high schools have no adequate science laboratories. Ten of these are Negro schools, and 6 are integrated; none is white.
- Eleven senior high schools have no suitable libraries. Seven are Negro schools, 3 are integrated, and 1 is white.

TEACHERS. The Baltimore Department of Education emphasized the problem about teachers in the slum areas when it quoted an article from the *Baltimore Sun* in one of its publications.

> Often coming out second best in the competitive struggle with the suburban counties for the cream of the teaching crop, the city must accept about 1,200 new teachers every year to cover increases in the student population, retirements, and resignations. The city accords certified status only to those who pass the National Teachers Examination, a requirement imposed only by the city among all of the school districts in the state.

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[7] Baltimore Department of Education, Bureau of Research. *Project Mission: A Proposal.* Baltimore: the Department, 1963.

> About 700 to 800 qualify, and the other 400 or 500 are hired as special substitutes because of the drastic shortage of teachers in the city. Only the uncertified teachers—only Negroes at that—are sent into the slum schools.[8]

Is Baltimore having difficulty recruiting and retaining well-qualified teachers? The facts speak for themselves.

Table 1. Provisional Teachers, 1954-1967

School year	*Number*	*Percentage of total teachers*
1954–1955	400	8.4
1955–1956	494	10.5
1956–1957	560	11.4
1957–1958	669	13.0
1958–1959	737	13.7
1959–1960	893	16.0
1960–1961	1,077	18.3
1961–1962	1,202	20.0
1962–1963	1,359	22.0
1963–1964	1,400	22.1
1964–1965	1,541[a]	23.4
1965–1966	[b]	26.7
1966–1967	[b]	32.0

Source: Baltimore City Public Schools.

[a] Of this number, 248 had less than two years of college.

[b] Figures not available.

Actually, for the school year 1965-66, Baltimore City employed 17.8 percent of the new teachers hired in Maryland. These new teachers constituted 32.2 percent of all the teachers without degrees employed in Maryland that year. As the table below shows, the metropolitan counties did not have similar problems.

Table 2. New Teachers Employed September 1, 1965

	Number of teachers employed	*Number without a bachelor's degree*	*Percentage without degree*
State total	5,873	397	6.8
Baltimore City	1,048	128	12.2
Anne Arundel Co.	607	68	11.2
Baltimore Co.	904	58	6.4
Montgomery Co.	867	2	0.2
Prince George's Co.	1,084	35	3.2

Source: Maryland State Department of Education.

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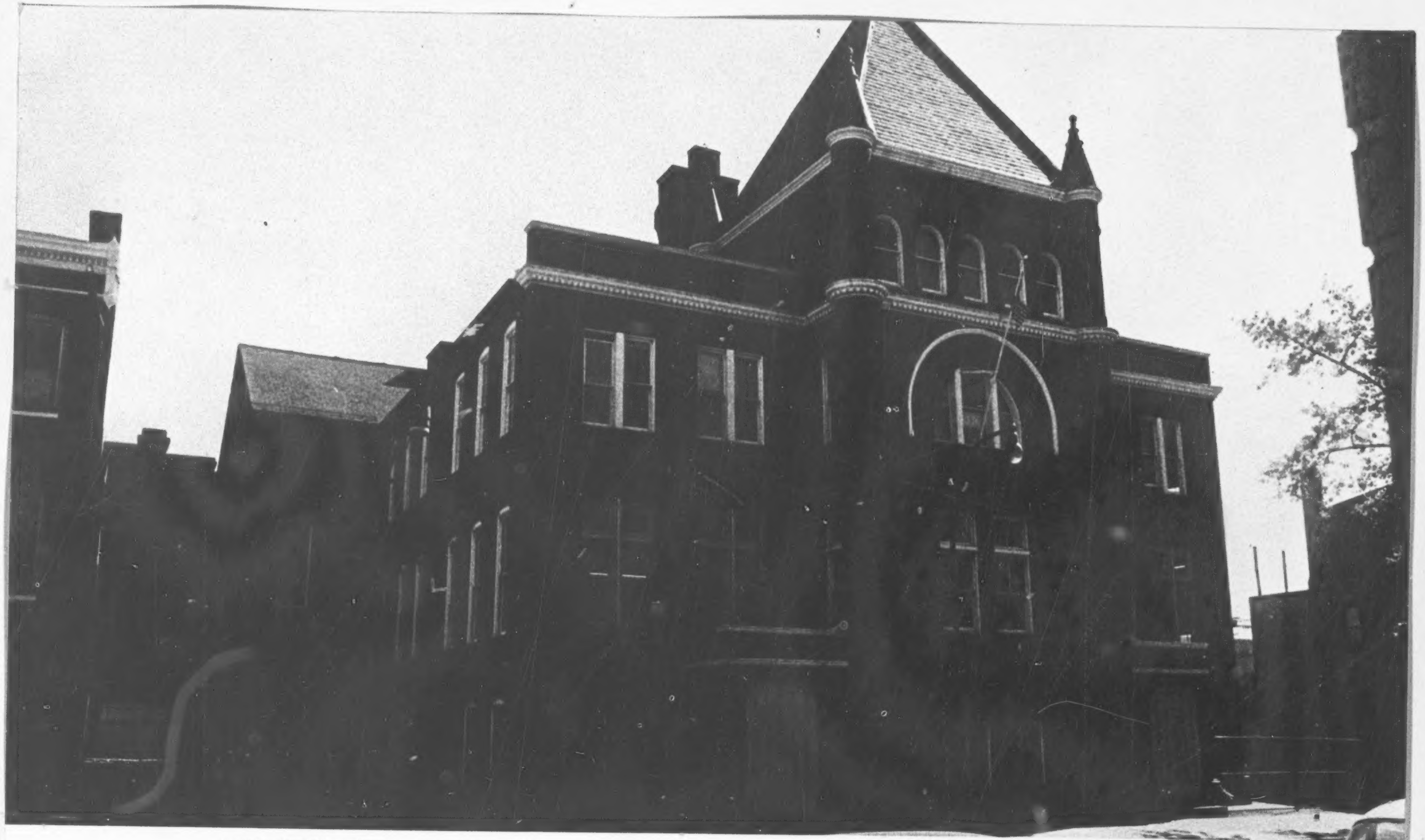
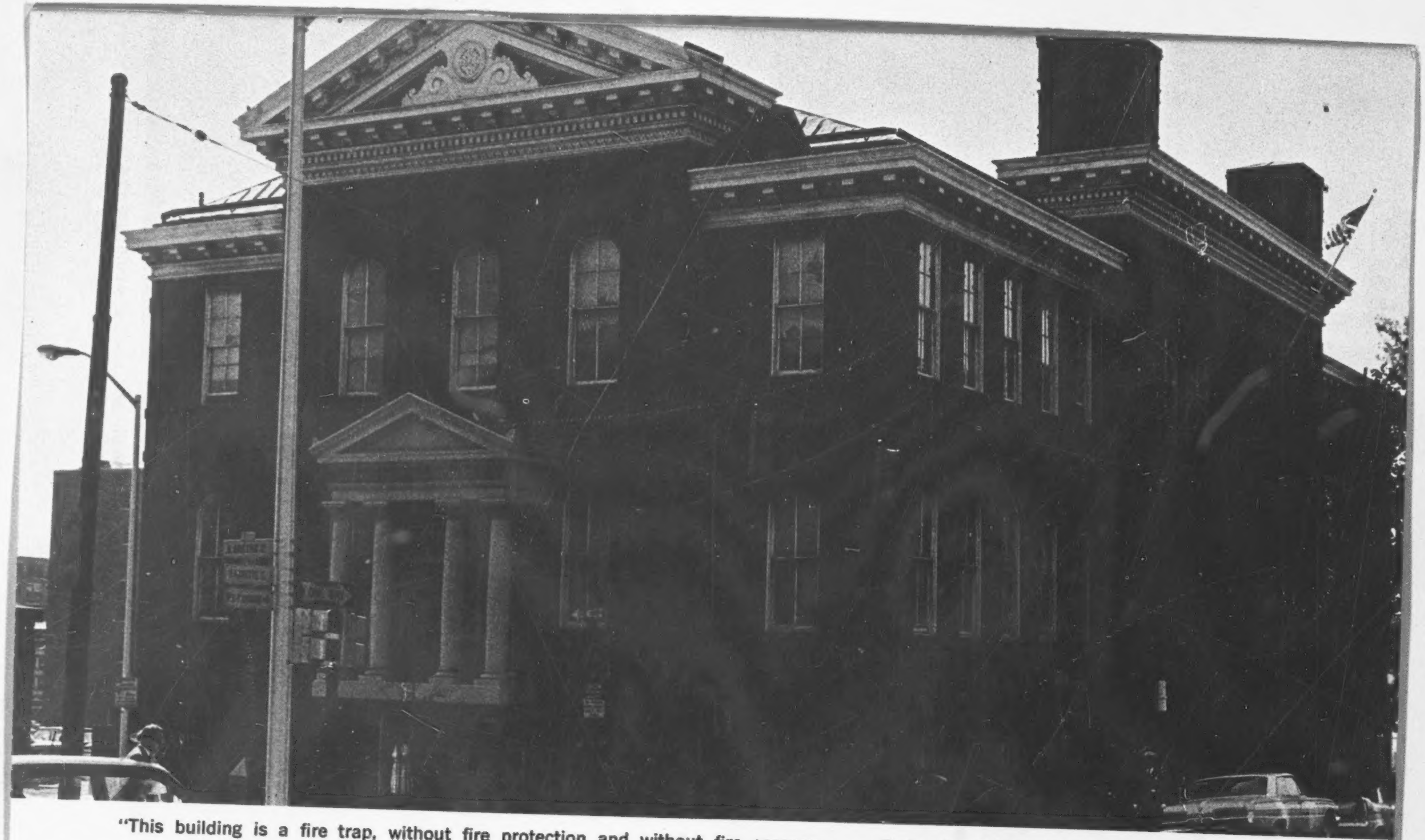
[8] *Baltimore Sun,* August 13, 1962. Quoted by the Department of Education in *Project Mission: A Proposal.*

The following pictures were taken in 1966

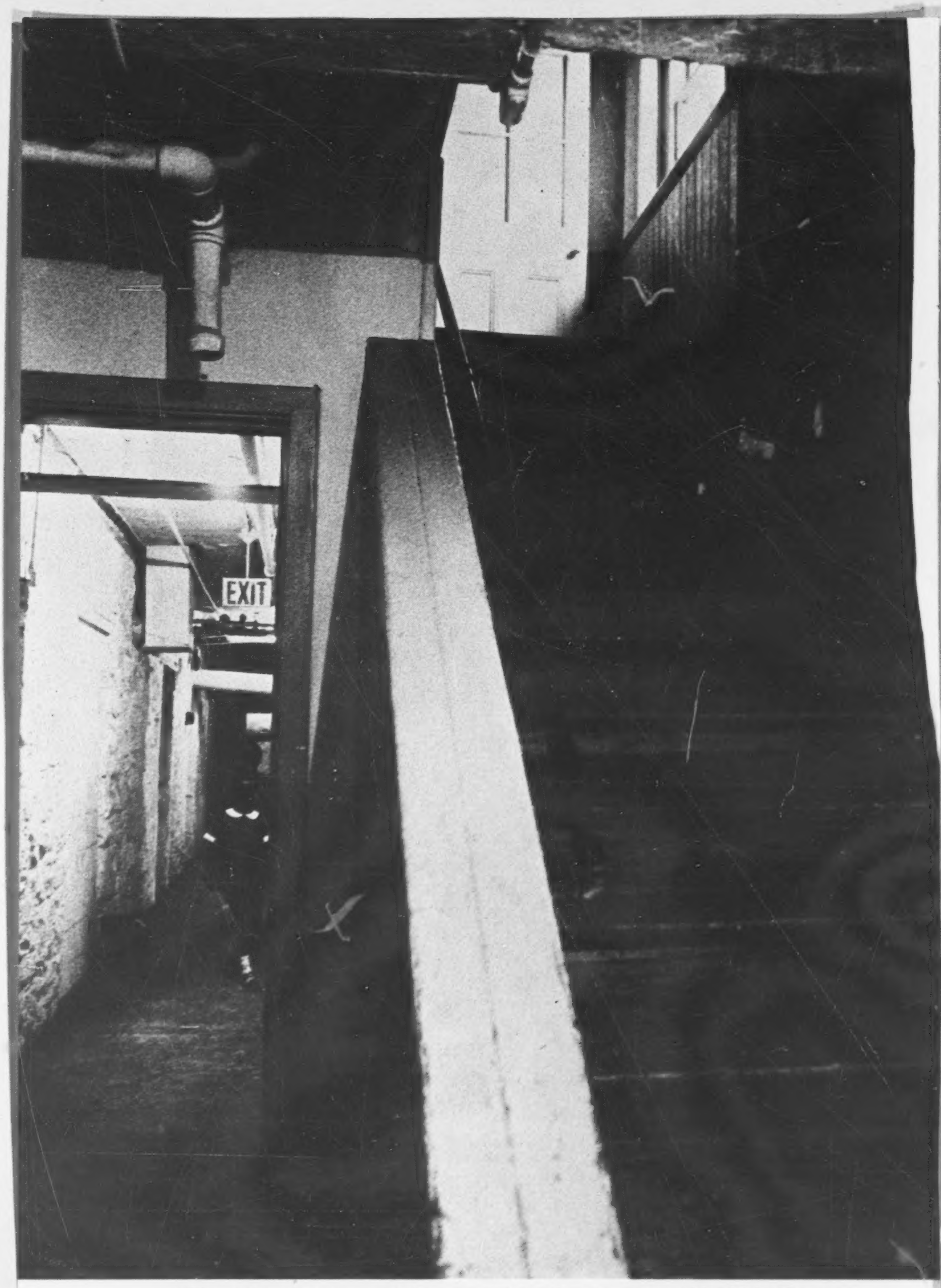
THE CAPTIONS ARE COMMENTS
MADE IN THE 1921 STRAYER SURVEY



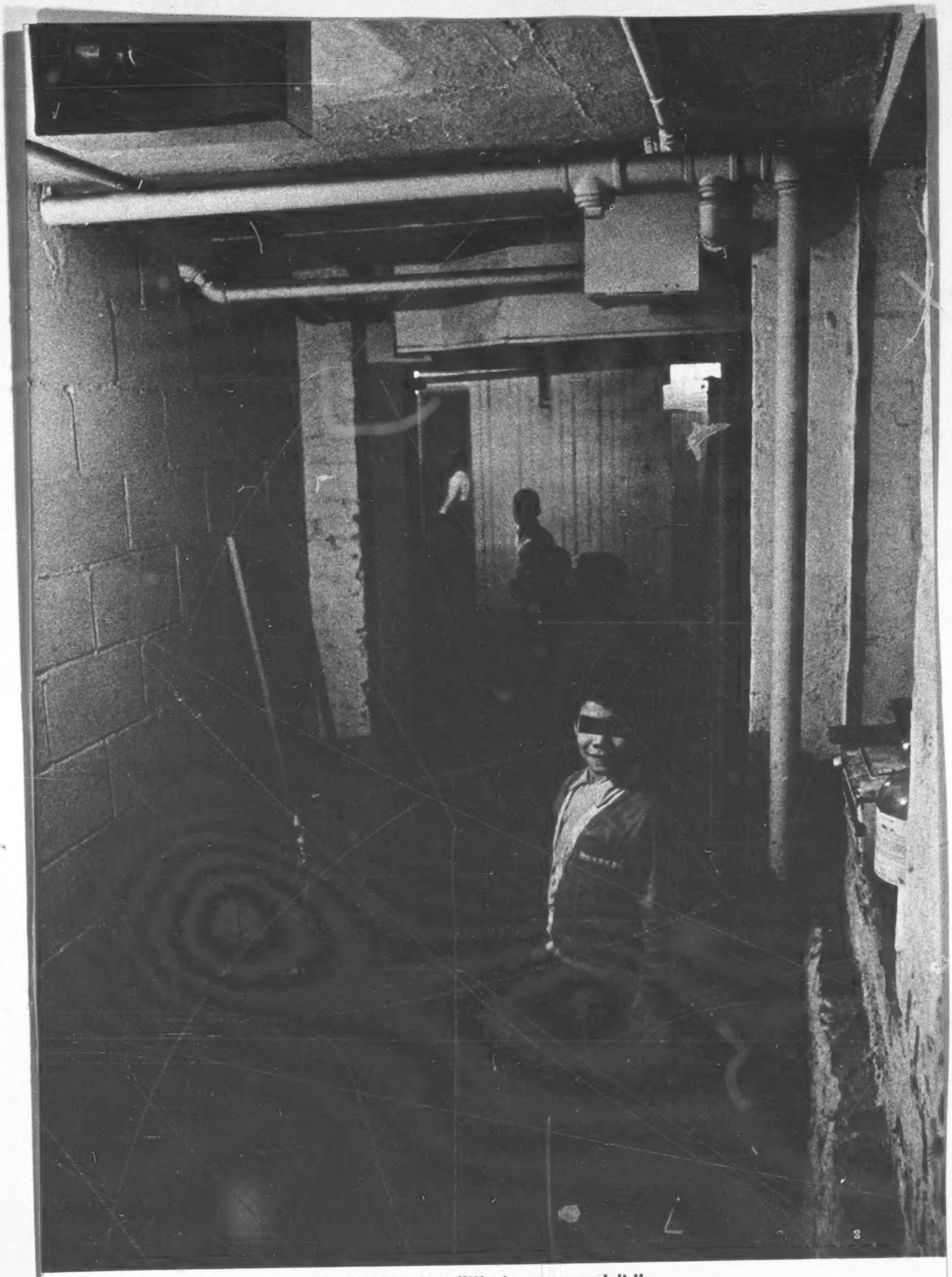
"This building is an example of the very worst kind of school building planning." It is Public School #25.



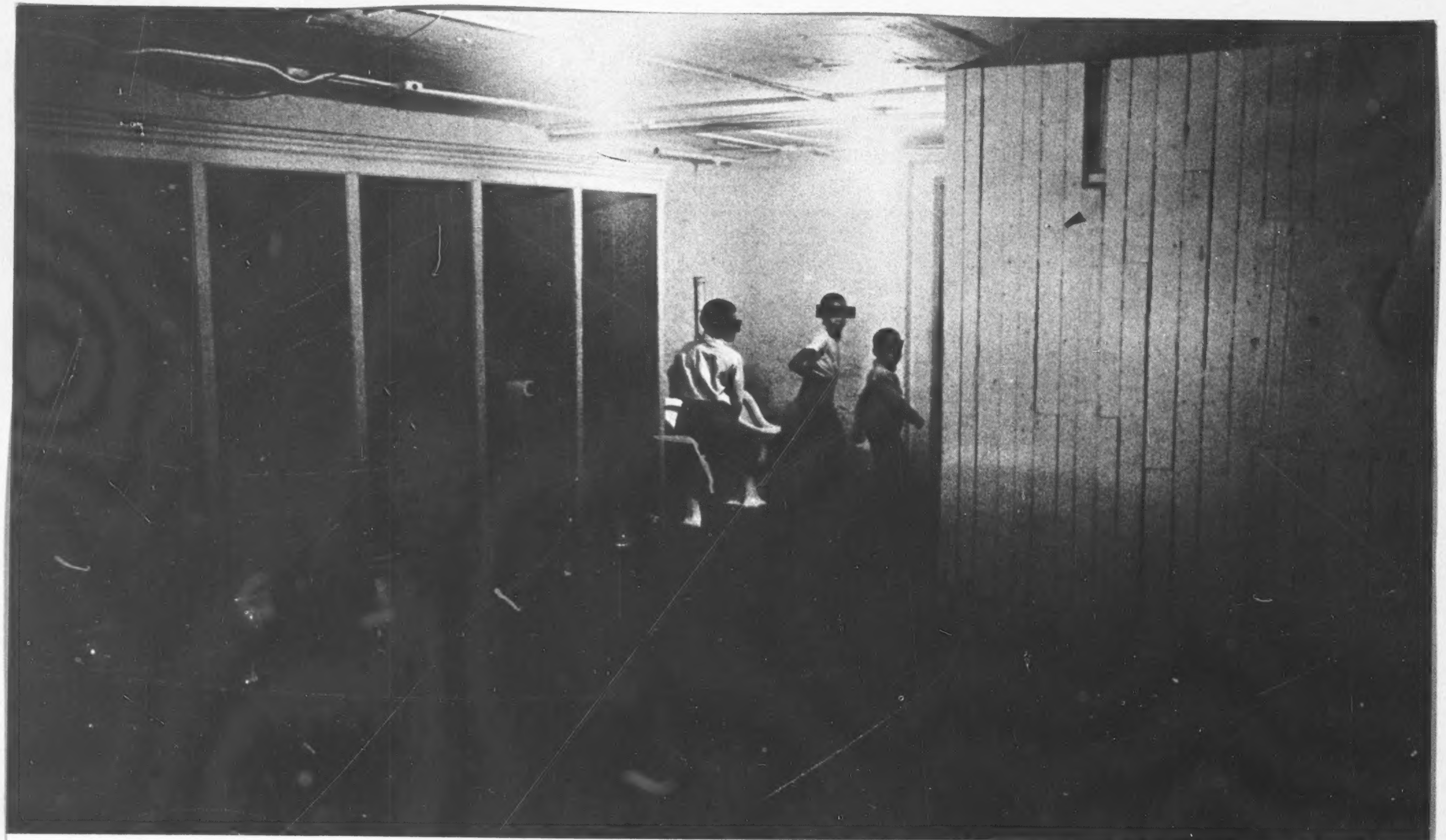
"This building is a fire trap, without fire protection and without fire escapes. . . . Early abandonment is recommended." This is Public School #9, now used for "Opportunity Classes."



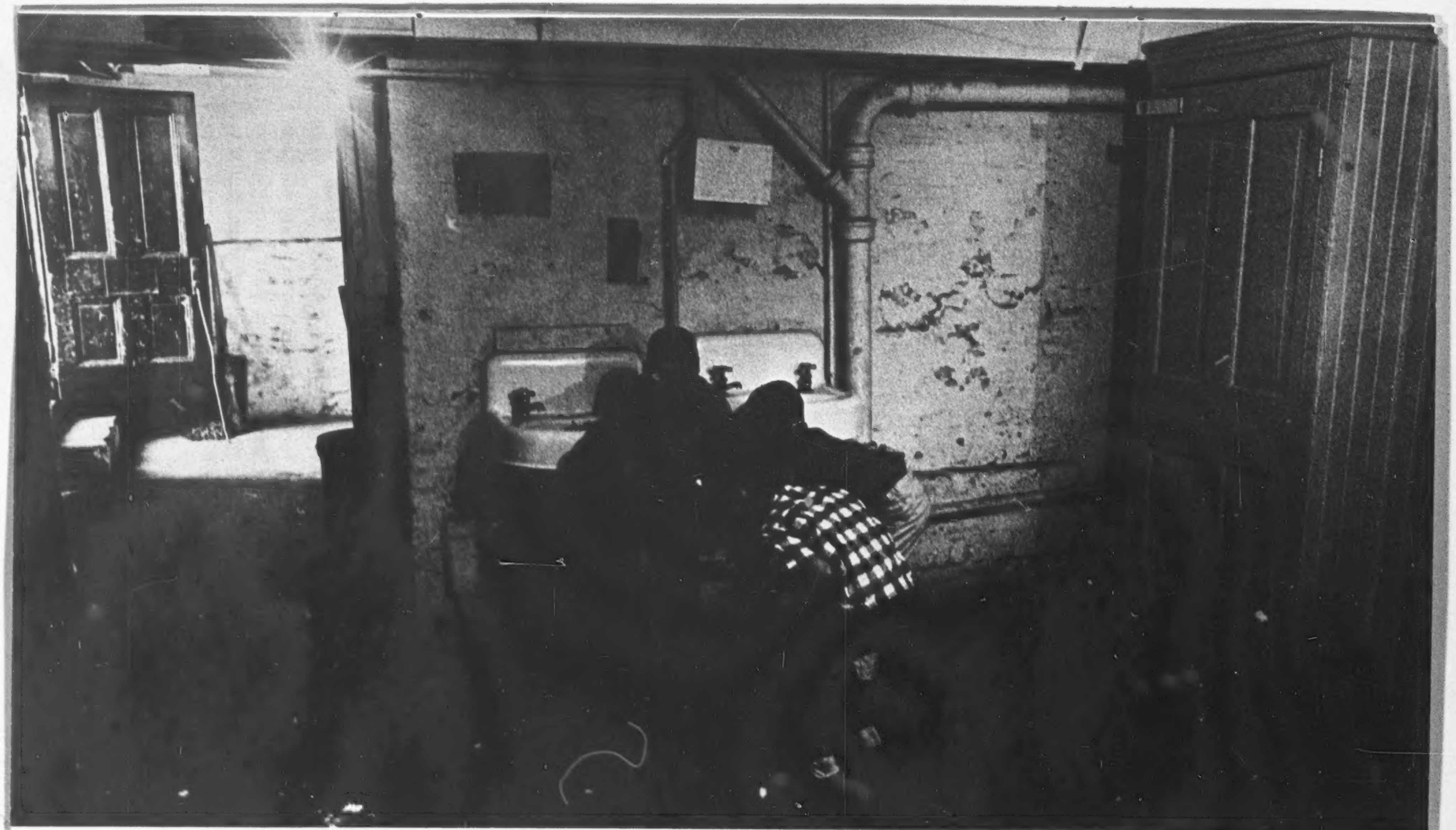
"The stairways have a maximum number of turns and would add to the confusion of the children in their haste to leave the building in case of danger."



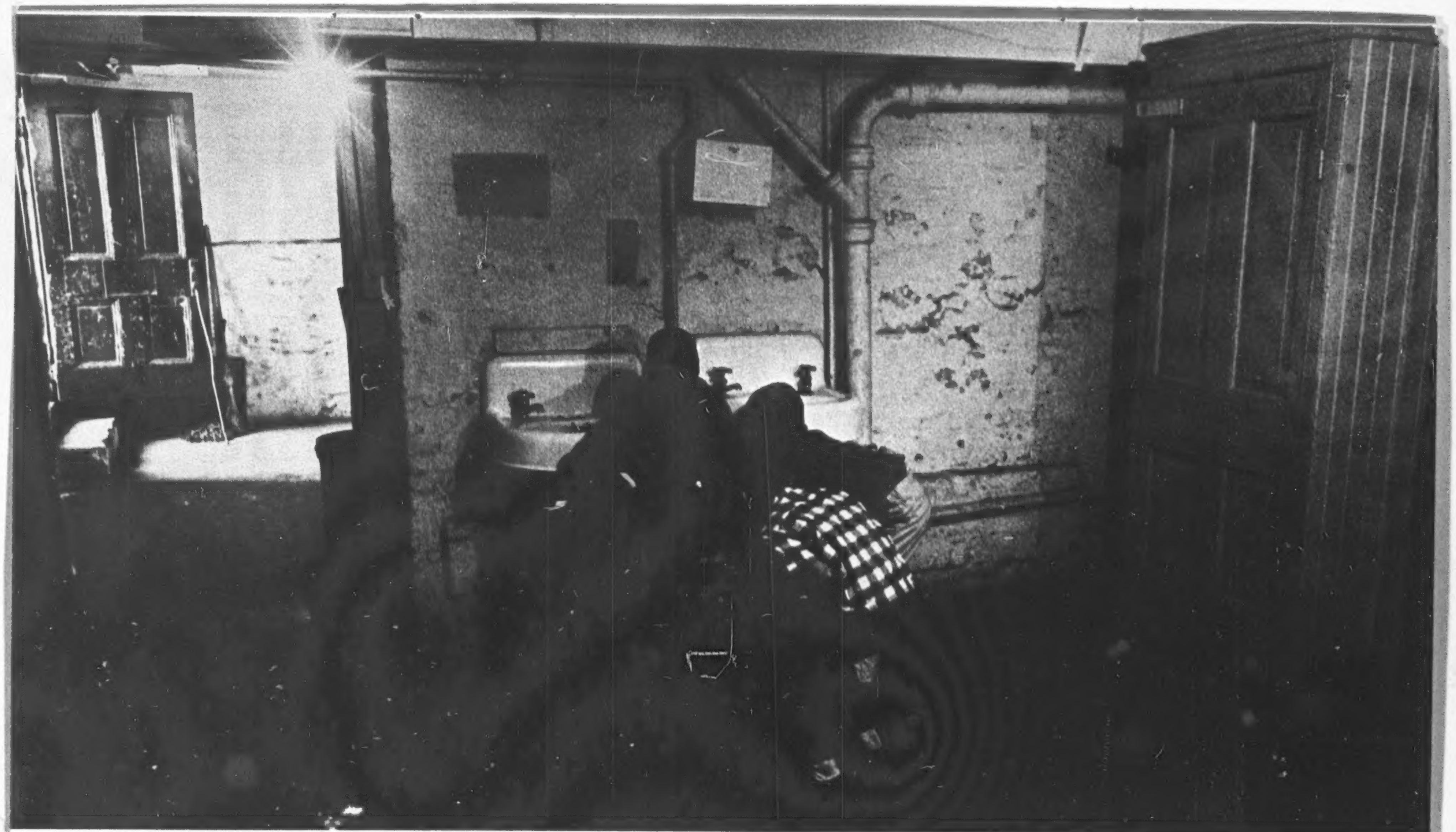
"This building has little to commend it."



"The filthy, insanitary basement toilets of this school are examples of what results when toilets are removed from the supervision of teachers."



"In modern school buildings, toilet facilities are eliminated entirely from the basements."



"In modern school buildings, toilet facilities are eliminated entirely from the basements."

Since the turnover of faculty in the ghetto schools is high, most of these new teachers are assigned there. No matter how hard they try, inexperienced teachers (one out of every eight without a college degree) cannot hope to compensate for the inadequacies of the slum school. The Special Committee observed many valiant efforts by teachers to overcome environmental handicaps, but the task is much too great. And further inequality is the product.

PLANT. The Baltimore City school system contains 84 buildings that were built before 1916. In September 1966, these buildings housed 57,675 children, 28.5 percent of all the children in the Baltimore schools. Seventy percent of the children attending classes in these buildings are Negro children. A full 40 percent of the all-Negro schools in Baltimore were constructed before 1916.

There are 26 "portable" schools in Baltimore. Sixteen of these are Negro schools, seven contain a majority of Negro children, and three are white schools.

Thirty-one schools were listed in the 1951 School Plant Survey as being Obsolete and Unsatisfactory. Of these, 6 are no longer in use, 1 houses white children, 9 are integrated, and 15 house Negro children.

In the year 1921, the Teachers College of Columbia University published the results of a comprehensive survey of the Baltimore public schools —*The Strayer Survey Report of the Baltimore Public Schools*. That report, published 45 years ago, recommended the immediate or early abandonment of 58 schools then in use. Thirty-five—no, 34 (School #108 was gutted by fire on Sunday night, February 26, 1967)—of these schools are still in use in Baltimore City. One is in use by white children, 4 have racially balanced student bodies, 2 are more than 80 percent Negro, and 27 are all-Negro schools. More than 90 percent of the children attending school in these buildings are Negro.

The 1921 Report has these comments on the Baltimore schools:

> This building should be abandoned soon for the instruction of white children. The site is inadequate. . . . The stairways in this building are particularly dangerous, four turns being required in passing from the second to the first floor. In some instances classes must pass through other classrooms in order to get to the outside from the second floor. This is a very questionable policy. One classroom has its light cut off by stairways. The old shacks to the rear add to the fire danger and to the undesirability of the environment.

This was written in 1921 about the Wells-McComas School, then School #5. The school *has* been abandoned for the instruction of white children. It is now all-Negro School #109. Classes still must pass through other classrooms to get to the outside from the second floor, the stairs still have all the turns, and the shacks are still out in the rear. Furthermore, the

[redacted]

[redacted]

"The Special Committee observed many valiant efforts by teachers to overcome environmental handicaps, but the task is much too great." Especially in faculty conference rooms such as this one for both male and female teachers.

school system evidently has no intention of replacing this school in the near future, as it has recently invested in a new boiler.

> This building is an example of the very worst kind of school building planning. The stairways have a maximum number of turns and would add to the confusion of the children in their haste to leave the building in case of danger. . . . The building is in a congested section and is wholly unequipped to provide for the community needs of its people. . . . The toilets are particularly defective. . . .

This was written in 1921 about Public School #25, the Captain Henry Fleet School. This school was abandoned for school use for about ten years, during which time it was used as a warehouse. The *1951 School Plant Survey* called it "obsolete" and "unsatisfactory for use as a warehouse." The school was reopened for use as an elementary school in 1956; no major renovations were made. There are no children for which this is a "neighborhood school," since the neighborhood is totally industrial and commercial. So five busloads of children are transported to this school daily.

> This building is a fire trap, without fire protection and without fire escapes. When visited the combustible material stored under the main stairway added another element of danger to the situation. The stairways are particularly defective in their construction.
>
> . . . .
>
> There is little to commend itself about this particular building. Early abandonment is recommended because of its close proximity to the commercial center and because of its faults.

This was written in 1921 about Public School #9, Alicia Crossland. In 1967 the school is in use for Special Curriculum Opportunity Classes for junior high school age children. This school has inadequacies aside from the obvious ones of the physical plant, although those have been alleviated in no way since 1921. For example, the music teacher has no piano, no phonograph, and no radio with which to teach music to the children. The visiting committee was told, "The children here know they are receiving the worst of everything; they sense that nobody cares about them. They feel worthless." When the building was visited in 1966, there were still combustible materials stored under the main stairway.

> The principal of this school has great difficulty in persuading children to attend it. The building should never have been built where it stands, as it is on the fringe of railroad territory. Colored families are moving into this locality so that the school should soon be abandoned for white children. It may be put in fair condition and used for a short period for colored children but eventually should be abandoned entirely, the children of the school going to a larger and better equipped structure.

This was written in 1921 about the Horatio Sharpe School, then School #29. As Strayer predicted, the school was abandoned for white children and renumbered as School #121 to designate it as a school for Negro children. It is still in use as such in 1967, after a not very short period of time.

> This building has little to commend it and stands in strong contrast with No. 22, the George Washington School, which is its immediate neighbor. The site is inadequate. . . . This building should be used for a five-year period and then the children should be transferred to a better structure.

This was written in 1921 about the Martha Washington School, then School #72; it is now, 46 years later, School #129.

> This building ought never to have been called a Junior High School, because it bears no resemblance to one whatsoever. It lacks in every special room provision which should be made for such a structure. The building is totally unfit for school purposes and should be abandoned at the earliest possible moment.

This was written in 1921 about what was then School #52. It is no longer a junior high school. It is now elementary school #136 and is used for a Special Curriculum.

> This building presents a minimum of protection from fire risks. . . . It is a building which is highly inadequate for junior high school purposes. Its facilities are extremely limited . . . and its playground very inadequate. The stairways in this building are dangerous. Probably no more hazardous construction can be found in the school system than is to be seen in the front entrance of this building. The building should be abandoned for school purposes.

This was written in 1921 about what was then School #79. It is now School #126 and is still used as a junior high school. No construction or major renovation has taken place since it was built.

> The environment of School No. 77 condemns this building. The building itself is totally unsatisfactory for school purposes. There is no feature about this building which commends it. This building should be demolished at the earliest possible period. . . . There is nothing to be gained by attempting to rehabilitate this building.

This was written about the school that is now School #27A. The *1951 School Plant Survey* called this building a fire trap. No attempt has been made to rectify this condition.

> The filthy, insanitary basement toilets of this school are examples of what results when toilets are removed from the supervision of teachers. In modern school buildings, toilet facilities are eliminated entirely from the basements and placed in sections on the floors on which children are taught.

. . . .

> Although this building has little to commend it, at the time of visitation a new heating plant was being installed in a most wretched-looking basement. . . . This building should have a minimum of expenditure placed upon it, and should be a part of the early abandonment program.

This was written in 1921 about School #20. Most of these old buildings have toilet facilities, as well as drinking fountains, in the basements.

> This is a three-story building with unprotected stairways. The stairways are particularly treacherous with respect to their construction. . . . Situated as it is in close proximity to the business section with totally inadequate playground . . . , with noisy car lines on two sides, . . . it is a question whether it should be continued . . . for school purposes. . . .

This was written in 1921 about School #1, still in use in 1967.

> In this building a fire broke out in the cellar during the past year. If such a fire were to gain headway during school hours, the result would be disastrous. The stairways are exceptionally bad because of their turns and their open nature. . . . The general condition of this building leads to the recommendation that very little money be spent on the present structure and that a new building be substituted as soon as possible.

This was written in 1921 about what was then School #110, now School #19A. It still houses only Negro children, however.

> This very old structure should be abandoned as soon as possible. No money should be spent in putting it in a state of repair. The site is totally inadequate, with only 2.1 square feet per child. . . . The rooms are very congested and the situation presents a very unfortunate housing spectacle.

This was written in 1921 about School #116, which was built in 1850. It is now School #118, and now has only about 1.5 square feet per child for play area.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION. What has Baltimore done about eliminating the overwhelming inequalities between school buildings in the inner and the outer city and about the phasing out of its obsolete schools?

Two schools were constructed in Baltimore City in the decade of the 1940's, 39 in the 1950's, and 22 between 1960 and June 1965.

Three senior high schools were built between 1960 and 1966. Two of them, Northern (#402) and Northwestern (#401), were completed in 1965 and 1966; the other, Patterson (#405), was constructed in 1960 and is scheduled for an addition to be completed in September 1968.

All three of these senior high schools, the only three yet completed in this decade, were built within one-half mile of county lines, the farthest points in the Baltimore City Limits from the inner city. Two of them are not readily accessible by public transportation. Northern High School maintains school buses, paid for by the parents of the students. Both Northern and Patterson have white-segregated student bodies, and Northwestern is 70 percent white. There have been no senior high schools built in the inner city since the construction of the Carver Vocational-Technical High School in 1955.

Currently under construction, at a cost of $17,962,000, is the new Polytechnic High School-Western High School Complex (Poly-Western). The complex is to replace the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute for boys and the Western High School for girls, which have traditionally been high-prestige schools with an exclusively college preparatory curriculum. The two schools are located in the inner city. The magnificent campus of the new Poly-Western is several miles north of the inner city, in an all-white neighborhood about one and a half miles from the county line. It is virtually inaccessible to children from the inner city. The superintendent has estimated that much of the integration that has taken place in Western, particularly, will be eliminated because of the site chosen for the complex.

In addition to the three senior high schools completed between 1960 and 1966 and the Poly-Western, which is scheduled for a June 1967 completion, the Baltimore Public Schools constructed a new plant for the Baltimore Junior College in 1965. The enrollment that year was 94 percent white.

Table 3. Secondary and Junior College Construction, 1965-1967

School	*Date of completion*	*Cost*
Patterson High School Addition	1967	$ 1,040,000
Northern High School	1965	5,549,000
Northwestern High School	1966	5,725,000
Baltimore Junior College	1965	6,500,000
Poly-Western High School	1967	17,962,000
Total cost		$36,776,000

Eight new elementary schools (one for trainables) and three additions to existing elementary schools were completed or scheduled for completion in 1966. Four of the new schools have opened. Three of them have segregated student bodies, two Negro and one white.

The Baltimore Department of Education's *Map of School System, October 1966,* indicates 26 sites for the construction of new schools for which bonds were passed in 1963 and 1965.

■ Fourteen of these 26 sites are in white neighborhoods, surrounded by schools whose enrollment is all white or more than 90 percent white. Five of the 14 are within one or two blocks of the county line. *The estimated construction cost for these 14 schools is $22,599,000.*

- Only 4 of the 26 sites shown on the map are in the inner-city Negro ghetto. *The construction cost for these 4 schools is estimated by the Department of Education at $6,654,000.*

- The remaining 8 of the 26 sites, including 3 for senior high schools, are in "transition" areas of the city. They could conceivably encompass both predominantly Negro and predominantly white neighborhoods, and their racial composition is not so easily predicted as that of the other 18.

In its *One Hundred Twenty-Third Report,* covering the biennium 1958-1960, the School Board explained the reasons for its choices of sites for new school construction as follows:

> In terms of school facilities the following generalizations could be made:
>
> 1. As new Negro families migrated to Baltimore, they tended first to live in the older central part of the City where housing within their limited means was available. As the families improved their conditions, those who remained in the City tended to move northwestward to improve their housing situation. Continuing success permitted some families to move outward from the City's core more than once. The general effect was that Negro children occupied a number of older schools since these were in the neighborhoods where they lived. In addition, the factors of younger families and devotion to public schools resulted in two to three times the number of public school pupils as before the change. The existing schools of the area could not hold the increased number. One result was part-timeness where two classes used the same room, one for four hours in the morning and the other for four hours in the afternoon instead of the normal five hours of instruction.
>
> 2. The acquisition of sites in the inner City offered obstacles. Older school buildings were built at a time when school grounds were considered extraneous. The number of pupil stations was now too few. New sites would require the demolition of existing housing. The new Negro residents, increasingly becoming proud owners of homes for which they were still paying, objected to condemnation procedures, agreed that the school was necessary but in the next block, and were fearful of the inability to find and finance dwellings elsewhere. Not only schools, but also expressways and other public improvements threatened their new feeling of security. Eventually, many accepted the reasoning, realizing they would be compensated for their homes. In the meantime, new schools were delayed and another group of children went on part time or entered crowded classes.
>
> 3. White families moving from the core of the City or migrating to Baltimore tended to occupy new housing in the outer rings of the City. The new areas had no schools, so obviously schools had to be built. Consequently, these areas benefitted by new schools, since it was impossible to build old ones.
>
> 4. The acquisition of school sites in the outer ring had been rather simple. Builders were anxious to advertise the proximity of their new houses to new schools. Vacant land was available.

This explanation of the direction of the capital improvement program in the Baltimore Public Schools demands comment, elaboration, and elucidation.

In section 1, the "success" and "northwestward movement" of the new Negro families is a non-sequitur to the overcrowding in the older schools in the inner city. The percentage of families who had been able to attain such success and improvement in housing is sufficiently small to render it insignificant in a discussion of overcrowding in the schools. Rather than "devotion to the public schools" resulting in the larger proportion of public school enrollment among the Negro families, it may have been they were unable to attend the private and parochial schools. After all, private schools require tuition. The private and parochial school enrollment in Baltimore is about 5 percent Negro.

Section 1 clearly states that the great need for new school construction in terms of overcrowding and part-timeness is in the ghetto. *Section 2* blames the fact that new schools have not been constructed in the ghetto in proportion on the Negroes who are "proud owners of homes" and are unwilling to be displaced by condemnation.

The map showing the percentage of rental property in the inner city indicates that the number of owner-occupied residences in the inner city is so small that this could not be a significant deterrent in acquiring school sites. The reasoning is invalid and the excuse is specious.

Section 3 indicates the priorities assigned in the school construction program. Provision of schools for children whose parents had apparently not considered a lack of nearby schools to be a significant factor in choosing housing in these remote areas was given precedence over relief of the severe overcrowding in the inner city. The statement that "the new areas had no schools" is not entirely correct. With only a few exceptions, the new schools that were constructed for white children in the outer rings of the city during the 1950's were built within a mile of existing schools.

Section 4 indicates a spirit of cooperation between the school system and the private builders. Similar cooperation would have been quite mutually beneficial, if it had existed, between the school system and the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency. Cooperation between these agencies was initiated in 1966 and has not yet produced fruit.

Since this statement was issued, the public record indicates that in 1961, the then superintendent of Baltimore's schools was interviewed on the subject of school construction and overcrowding:

> [The superintendent] was shown a map of the Baltimore City school sites, and the area included in Census Tracts 16-1 through 16-4 pointed out. Although three sites for new schools had been marked on a 1958 school map, these same three sites were still marked on the map dated February 1961. The map dated February 1961 also indicated that 14 new schools were to be constructed in areas where the schools contain all-white school populations. At this time, all of the schools in these inner-city Census Tracts 16-1 through 16-4 contained classes on the four-hour double shift while not one

> school in the areas of planned schools for white children contained classes on the four-hour double shift.
>
> [The superintendent] remarked that his office has a hard time with this problem of appropriations for new school construction. He felt that the City Board of Estimates, apparently, wanted to limit the amount of money it appropriated for new school construction and that it was the impression of his office that the City Council, understandably, did not want to spend money only on the Negro population.

Of the 26 sites for the construction of new schools shown on the 1966 school map, only 6 are in areas where the schools are on double shift.

APPROPRIATIONS. The City Board of Estimates appropriated the $36,776,000 for construction of the four new senior high schools and a junior college, each complete with football stadium, in white neighborhoods. They also added $22,599,000 to construct 14 new elementary schools in predominantly white neighborhoods. They did, however, limit the money they appropriated for school construction in the slum area, where only 4 schools were built.

There is no doubt that it is easier and faster to acquire sites that require a minimum of displacement of occupied dwellings, but in the long run the ease of acquisition, the line of least resistance, is a less valid consideration in the selection of sites for new schools than the social consequences of the selections.

It is difficult to justify the expenditure for the football stadiums and swimming pools for the new senior high schools while children in the slum areas attend school in fire traps.[9] It is difficult to justify the construction of all of the new senior high schools in the outer rings of the city where they are largely inaccessible to children in the inner city.

The superintendent recently proposed to the School Board that the new senior high school complex that is being planned to replace the other two high-prestige high schools be built as part of the Inner Harbor urban renewal program—in the inner city. The School Board did not accept the superintendent's proposal.

On January 16, 1967, the superintendent presented the School Board with his Proposed Capital Improvement Budget Request for the years 1968-1973. The request calls for the expenditure over a six-year period of $138,560,000. This would be only $3 million less than the school system actually spent on school construction over the preceding 12 years. (The school system actually spent $24,500,775 less than was appropriated during the period 1955-1966.)

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[9] In recent weeks the press has reported the discovery of numerous violations of the City Fire Code.

One of the major reasons for the increase is that the superintendent has included $20 million for "Major Renovations," an area totally neglected in past requests. If the Capital Improvement Budget Request survives the tortuous approval process [10] in Baltimore City, the problem of obsolescence in the Baltimore school system could be greatly relieved.

THE VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL PROGRAM. The present superintendent has said,

> One problem is that while Carver has an overloaded senior high school plant, Mergenthaler is underloaded by nearly 300 pupils.
>
> Another question which needs to be thought about is that twelve years after the *Brown* decision, Carver is still virtually an all-Negro school and Mergenthaler has a predominantly white enrollment.
>
> Thirdly, questions have been raised about the course offerings at Carver and Mergenthaler and the point has been made that the course offerings at Carver are in vocational fields requiring a lower level of skill than the courses offered at Mergenthaler. There seems to be some justification for this contention.

A comparative study of Carver and Mergenthaler made by Johns Hopkins University included a follow-up check on the graduates of the two schools. Among the findings was the fact that the average graduate from Carver is earning less than the average graduate from Mergenthaler.

In September 1958, the time of certain innovations in the Mergenthaler program, there were 43 Negro students in the school out of a student body of 1,812. Today, Mergenthaler's enrollment is 89 percent white, although the number of Negro students enrolled has doubled since 1965. And yet, as the superintendent said, it is under capacity by 300 pupils.

This may change as a result of the findings of a study of the entire vocational-technical program in Baltimore being done by New York University at the request of the superintendent. The Central Admissions Office may serve to equalize the enrollments so that Carver's condition of severe overcrowding can be alleviated.

THE GENERAL VOCATIONAL PROGRAM. The superintendent has said,

> There is the question of what can be done for those pupils now placed in the "general vocational schools." There are those who are concerned that

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[10] The process is as follows: From the School Board to the City Planning Commission, to the Commissioner of Finance (mayor-appointee), to the Director of Finance, to the Board of Estimates (mayor appointees in the majority), to the City Council—to get permission to go to the State Legislature to get enabling legislation, approval of the state; then back to Baltimore and a repetition of every step except the School Board to get it placed on the ballot for public referendum. The appropriation is then approved. But it must go through the same steps in the City once more to get approval for the sale of the bonds and actual acquisition of the money.

> **the pupils in these schools have become too isolated from the mainstream of the senior high school program and consequently are not receiving as effective an educational program as their particular needs require.**

Approximately 90 percent of the children enrolled in the general vocational schools are Negroes. The general vocational schools are Baltimore's disgrace. Here are found the children that nobody knows what to do about.

There are five general vocational schools; one has a library, one has a gymnasium, and one has a cafeteria. The students in these schools do not participate in an athletic program or any other interscholastic activities. Members of the Special Committee saw furniture finishing being taught by such activities as sanding the carvings off of elementary desks and shellacking them; automobile mechanics being taught with 1932 motors that cannot be started; industrial cooking being taught on apartment-sized stoves. These students are being taught many obsolete skills on obsolete equipment in obsolete schools.

The superintendent has estimated that approximately 30 percent of the children enrolled in Baltimore's senior high schools will enter college after graduation. Another 10 percent will pursue some kind of further training in business schools, nursing schools, technical schools, and junior colleges. Forty-seven percent of the children in the senior high schools in February 1966 were enrolled in business, technical, vocational, or prevocational programs. For these pupils, the high school is terminal.

About 10 percent of the children in high school are in the Basic Curriculum, and another 3 percent are in the Special Curriculum for the mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed.

The total school experience in Baltimore is not sufficiently meaningful to the more than 5,000 children that the school system reports as leaving school every year when they become 16 years old. Approximately another 1,000 children leave school yearly to enter mental or correctional institutions. In the school system's reported figures on withdrawals there is an unexplained discrepancy. They show a difference between the initial enrollment and the final net roll of approximately 10,500 pupils. This group is not accounted for in the withdrawal figures, although there could be some overlap. These figures, when added to withdrawals of those "certified unable to benefit from further schooling" and those with "whereabouts unknown," indicate that an average of 16,000 junior and senior high school-age children drop out of school every year.

THE EDUCATION OF THE MAJORITY. In summary, then, the majority of Baltimore's public school children are the children of the poor; the majority of the school children are Negroes. The education which they are receiving in Baltimore does not seem to be meeting their needs.

> It is to Baltimore's credit that it was one of the first major border-state cities to integrate its educational system. This integration, however, was not of two separate but equal systems, but two separate and very unequal systems.

To merely equalize expenditure, with the backlog of inferiority in the Negro-segregated schools, is not to provide equality of educational opportunity. The superintendent has indicated an awareness of the compensatory needs of the disadvantaged schools and has created a fund from the surpluses returned from individual schools and programs to be poured back into the slum schools. This can be little more than a drop in the bucket at this point, because, as is illustrated below, the city has a history of spending considerably less than the average subdivision in the state for something as vital as instructional supplies.

Table 4. Cost per Pupil—Instructional Supplies, 1957-1965

Year	*State Average*	*Baltimore City*	*Difference*
1957	$10.00	$ 7.90	−$2.10
1958	11.10	8.10	− 3.00
1959	11.50	7.75	− 3.80
1960	12.50	8.20	− 4.30
1961	13.00	7.90	− 5.10
1962	16.00	9.30	− 6.70
1963	14.00	9.40	− 4.60
1964	15.00	10.40	− 4.60
1965	14.89	8.77	− 6.12

Source: Bureau of Research, Baltimore City Public Schools, and Maryland State Department of Education.

Just as poverty is much more than a lack of monetary resources, educational poverty is much more than a lack of monetary resources. The poor children, mostly Negro, are condemned to inferior opportunity in deteriorated neighborhoods and in obsolete schools. They have fewer chances to have decent facilities and equipment. Besides all their other handicaps, they are subjected to the handicaps inherent in the environment—no play area, congestion, traffic, and an impossible noise level (even the newer inner-city schools have no acoustical insulation). This environment endangers their health, which is already tenuous at best, by subjecting them to uneven temperatures; draughts from broken windows; toilets and drinking fountains in dank, dungeon-like basements; lack of cafeterias and food services; lack of physical fitness space and facilities; and, of course, the daily fire hazard.

It lessens their chances for the best teachers because of the poor teaching conditions, overcrowded classrooms, and lack of facilities and services;

because of the traffic and parking problem and expense; and because of the neighborhood environment that many teachers consider dangerous. Fully certified and qualified teachers, particularly if they happen to be white, are much in demand. They can always leave the city system and go to the counties, where the teaching job is far less complicated, the conditions of teaching are better, and the pay is higher. New ways must be found to make teaching in the slum areas less burdensome.

Rigidity in the testing and tracking of children and in the choice of curriculum materials and textbooks is another form of enforced inequality. Federal programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have provided some textbooks and materials that are more advanced in concept and more realistic in representation to some of the slum schools. The Curriculum Division of the Baltimore Public Schools, however, has done little to adapt the curriculum to the changing student population. The Baltimore school system is one of the few in the country that has the advantage of a research department. Yet, the Curriculum Division has not asked the Bureau of Research for a single study on curriculum or materials. Although the school population is largely Negro, the school system is only now making "tentative plans" for incorporating the study of Negro life and history into the curriculum of only two grades—seventh and eleventh—in the schools.

The Alternatives

If the present trend of racial change in the school population continues, if white children continue to leave the public schools and Negro children continue to migrate to Baltimore, in less than 15 years all of the children in the public schools could be the children that the schools are presently not equipped to serve.

The city and the school system have a choice to make now: they can supply the money and the creativity necessary to make the schools so good that the white children will be retained or attracted back or that it won't matter whether the white middle-class children come back or not; or Baltimore can fail to provide the money and creativity necessary to make the schools able to meet the needs of the children—and pay the price in social consequences and wasted human lives.

There Is Always a Price

A growing majority of Baltimore's school children are not receiving an adequate education. An annual per pupil expenditure of $430 cannot provide adequate education. A majority of Baltimore's children are not being equipped to enter the job market as productive or competitive adults. No manufacturer would spend his capital resources in the development of obsolete goods for which there will be no market. Yet, the schools are spending their resources—capital and human—to develop in children obsolete skills for which there are, and will be, no market. The implications of this in terms of human misery, in terms of the waste of so many individual lives, are obnoxious to the humanitarian instinct and to the American sense of justice. But what are the implications of this loss of human resources for the overall social and economic health of the total community?

The Baltimore School Board says that the funds it receives from the city are not adequate to offer all of Baltimore's children optimum opportunity for the education that is essential to productive adulthood. Baltimore's city officials say that the demand for public services is so great and the burden on the taxpayer so heavy that the city cannot raise the level of appropriations for the schools. A common attitude in Baltimore seems to be that School Board budgets should be kept low and the city's ultimate allocation even lower "to save the taxpayer money." Is this policy in fact saving the taxpayer money? Or is it in fact an example of false economy?

The following tables show that Baltimore's fiscal authorities have consistently slashed budget requests and the cumulative effect of their shortsighted actions has caused severe problems not the least of which are very poor maintenance of an extensive capital investment and a growing shortage of qualified teachers.

Table 5. Budget Requests and Appropriations, 1957-1967

Year	*Requested*	*Appropriated*	*Budget cuts*
1957	$43,406,522	$41,687,615	$1,718,907
1958	49,987,186	47,304,053	2,683,133
1959	55,231,062	48,948,193	6,282,869
1960	60,423,377	52,361,684	8,061,693
1961	62,742,122	57,258,989	5,483,133
1962	66,978,100	59,139,242	7,838,858
1963	71,089,762	62,941,529	8,148,233
1964	75,463,746	67,720,282	7,743,464
1965	82,847,468	74,561,516	8,285,952
1966–67 (Est.)	124,317,938[a]	115,565,444	8,752,494
1967–68	144,531,838	[b]	[c]

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[a] The budget for 1966–67 is a program budget, unlike previous budget formats. It includes, under the Department of Education, many items previously not charged directly to the Department; e.g., retirement and social security costs. It actually reflects increases over two budget periods, the 1965 calendar year budget and the 1966 six-months budget; therefore, a direct comparison with figures for 1965 does not give a true picture.

[b] Figures not available.

[c] On March 29, 1967, the Director of Finance presented his suggested cuts to the Board of Estimates. He recommended that the Board of Education budget be cut by $6,856,775.

Table 6. Local Effort, 1960-1966

Percentage of total local revenue appropriated for schools

Year	*Baltimore*	*Total state*
1960	29.8	44.1
1961	30.0	43.5
1962	31.9	44.9
1963	32.6	45.8
1964	33.7	48.6
1965	31.0	48.3

City officials argue that the demands for other services are too great to allow them to devote a larger percentage of local revenue to education. Yet, the table below illustrates that nine of the other Great Cities spend a greater portion of their revenue for education.

Table 7. Percentage of Property Tax Expended for Schools

City	*Percentage for schools*
St. Louis	49%
Los Angeles	46
Detroit	43
Cleveland	42
Philadelphia	42
Chicago	40
Pittsburgh	39
Houston	36
Milwaukee	34
BALTIMORE	*33*
San Francisco	29
Boston	27
Buffalo	24
New York City	23

Source of data: Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement. *The Challenge of Financing Public Schools in Great Cities.* Chicago: the Council, 1964. Table 9.

A person who graduates from high school earns an average of $1,798 annually more than does the person who has only finished the eighth grade —$76,000 more in a working lifetime. The average high school graduate pays taxes on this amount. He buys consumer goods and services with it. And he probably puts some of it in a bank. In short, he returns it to the economy.

In Baltimore City today, it costs approximately $430 a year to educate a child: $1,720 to educate him for four years. Approximately 2,000 Baltimore children drop out of junior high school every year when they become

16 years old. Educating these 2,000 children for an additional four years, at the present rate, would cost $3,440,000. But, according to the national statistics, these 2,000 children would put $152 million more back into Baltimore's economy during a working lifetime if they stayed in school. This is a return to the economy of a dividend at a rate of 40 to 1 on the original investment.

But it is no longer a question of whether a person with an eighth-grade education will earn less than a high school graduate. It is a question of whether he will be able to earn anything at all. In fact, the Baltimore Youth Opportunity Center, an affiliate of the U.S. Department of Employment Security, estimates that 63 percent of the male dropouts between the ages of 16 and 21 in Baltimore's slum area are unemployed.

The failure to invest the $1,720 to keep 2,000 potential dropouts in school through high school not only costs the economy $152 million in unearned income, but, at a rate of $2,000 a year, costs an additional $100.8 million in unemployment compensation or welfare payments. This is a total loss to Baltimore's economy over a 40-year period of $252.8 million for the failure to keep one year's junior high school dropouts in school. Added costs will occur if any of these dropouts turn to crime and are caught. (Prison costs the city up to $4,200 a year per person.)

The bulk of the educational investment in Baltimore has traditionally been made in the white middle-class child. Many of those children of the last generation, 113,000 of them between 1950 and 1960, took their education with them to the suburban counties, where they now own property and pay taxes and yet require freeways into Baltimore City, where they use the police, fire, and recreation services. Usually, the Negro children do not have the same mobility. Housing in the suburban counties is not generally available to them. So they stay in the city to become its assets or liabilities —whichever the community has chosen.

In America today, Negroes are taking home something more than $20 billion a year in wages. The median family income of Negro families is only about half that of white families. If Negroes were to have educational and employment opportunities equal to those of whites, their take-home pay should double to $40 billion a year, which they would return to the economy through the purchase of goods and services and the payment of taxes.

The cost of poor education and discrimination in job opportunities is high in terms of loss to the economy of the city. The cost is high to the business community in the lack of a high-quality, well-trained labor force and the attendant expense of retraining programs and importation of labor from other areas. And the social liabilities are dangerous and costly.

The loss of only one year's income due to unemployment is more than the cost of 12 years of education. The average annual earnings of a high school graduate are $5,567. The cost of 12 years of schooling in Baltimore, at the present rate of per pupil expenditure, is $5,160.

The Baltimore Youth Opportunity Center has statistics of attempts to place some of the children who have graduated from or dropped out of Baltimore's inner-city schools that tell a terrible story of human waste and human disillusionment. The Center began its operation in Baltimore as a pilot project for the Job Corps but has since become a permanent agency of the Department of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor.

> From January to April we officially screened over 500 children. During this process we discovered some alarming things about the Baltimore public schools. For one thing, the school system gives twelve-year "certificates of attendance." In one school which offers a general vocational curriculum, the Vocational Counselor came to us to try to get every student in the school between the ages of 16 and 18 into this project. He felt that they had a better chance of becoming employable if they dropped out of school and went into the Job Corps.

It is only fair to add that the Job Corps spends about $7,000 per year on each trainee; Baltimore spends $432 for each pupil in the public schools.

The ghetto child has few ways to get out of the "dismal legacy" of poverty. Education is one way, but the majority of the slum children are handicapped in using education as the way out. Because crime is the only other way out, and because most ghetto people want to live within the law, most ghetto people never get out of poverty. For those whose desire to improve their standard of living is stronger than the desire to stay within the law, there is money to be made in crime—selling drugs, numbers, prostitutes, and stolen goods.

There are also ways for the child who cannot get out of poverty to forget his condition. One of them is heroin. Former Mayor of New York Robert Wagner once said that a mainlining junkie has to steal $50,000 worth of goods to sell on the black market for enough money to feed his habit for one year. For every child in Baltimore who takes that route and has no other means of paying for it, the community loses $50,000 a year.

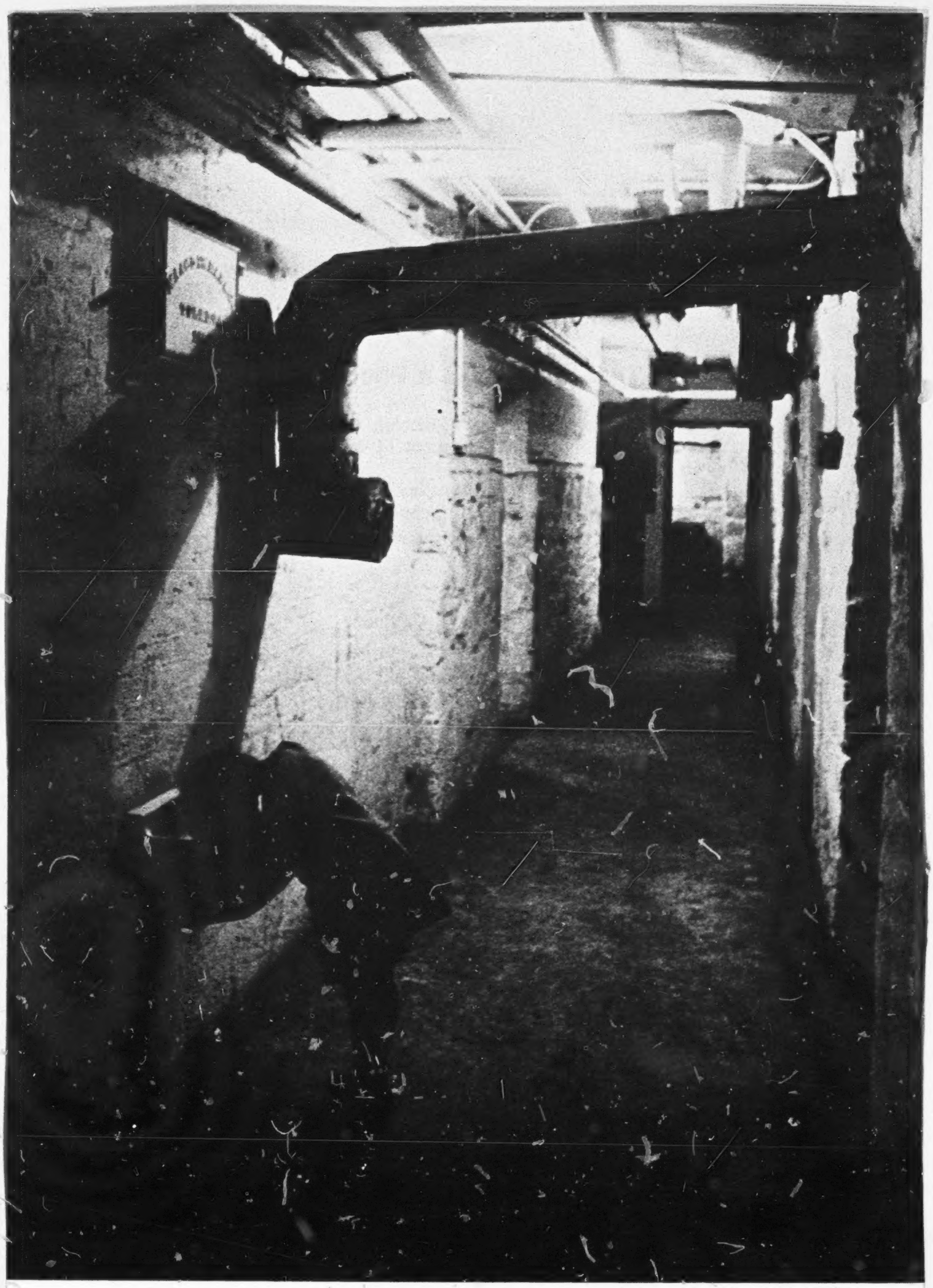
In 1963, the University of Maryland School of Social Work published the results of an analysis of crime statistics in Baltimore City. The study, made at the request of the Mayor's Commission on Crime, concentrated on the kinds of crimes that are most feared by the community: crimes of violence against the person and his property—crimes most likely to be committed by "the poor," the inhabitants of the slum areas. For this reason, the principal findings of this study are not a surprise.

There Is Always a Price

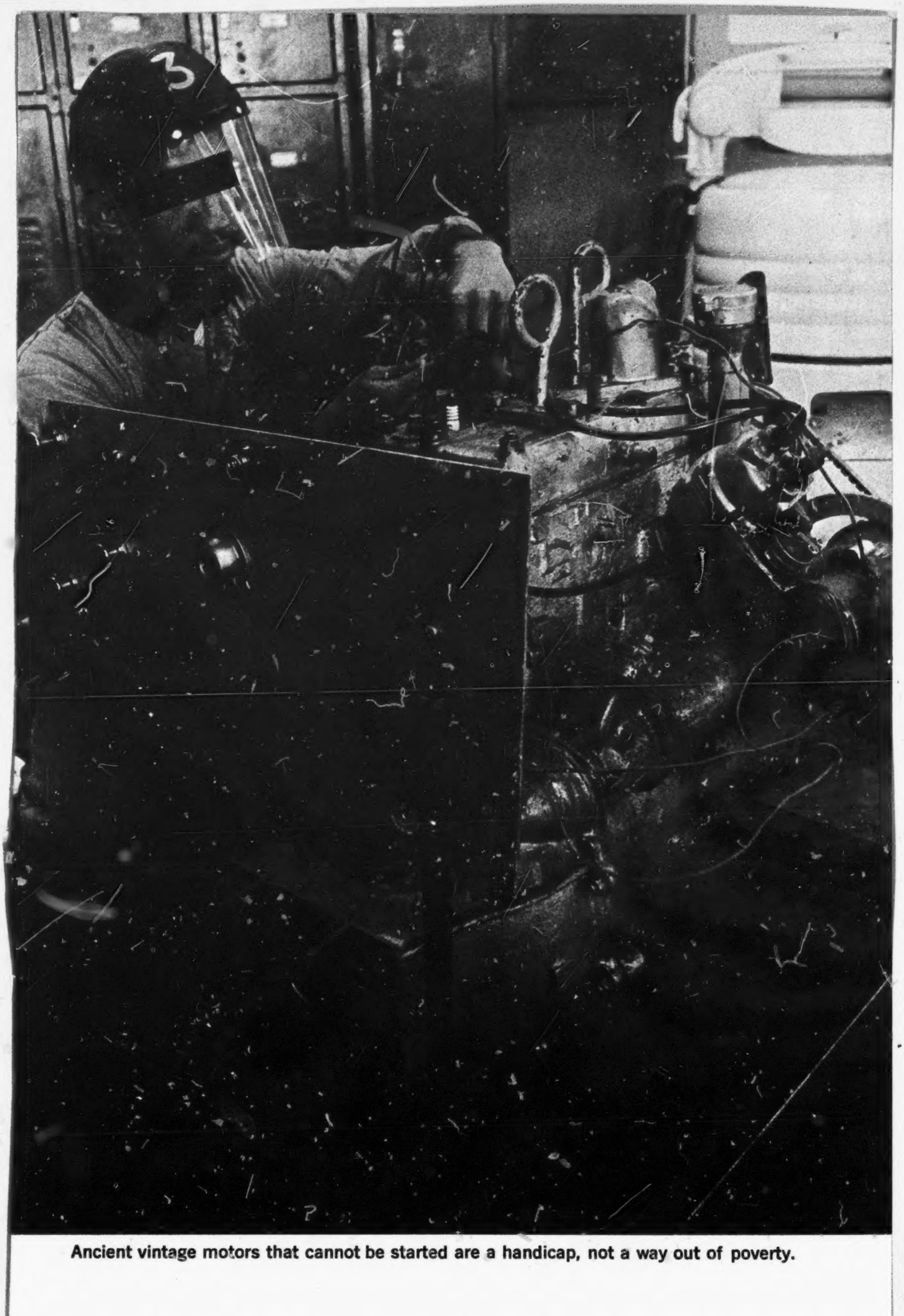
"The loss of only one year's income due to unemployment is more than the cost of 12 years of education."

"The ghetto child has few ways out of the 'dismal legacy' of poverty. Education is one way, *but the majority of slum children are handicapped in using education as the way out."*

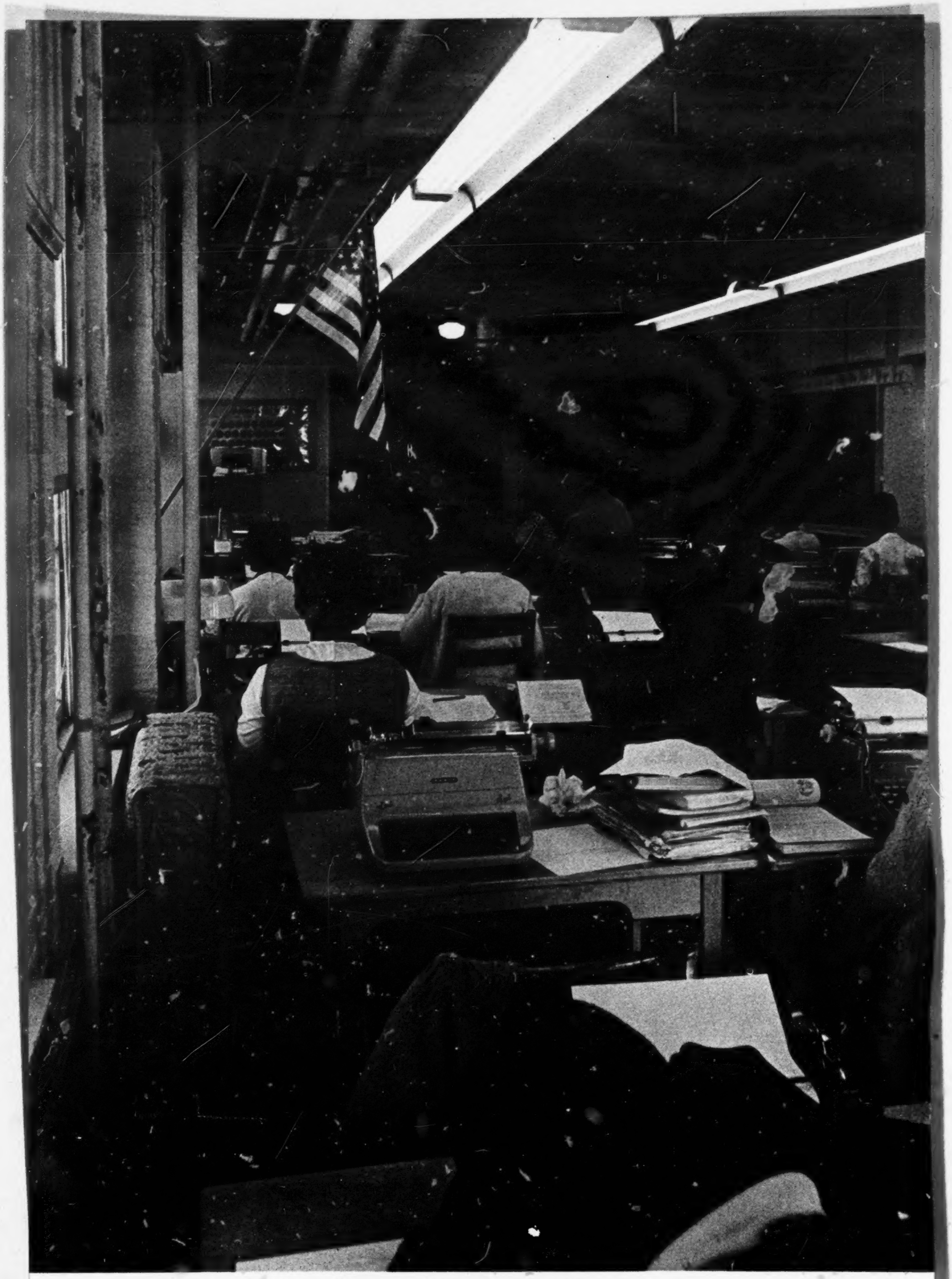
THE FOLLOWING PICTURES ILLUSTRATE SOME OF THESE HANDICAPS



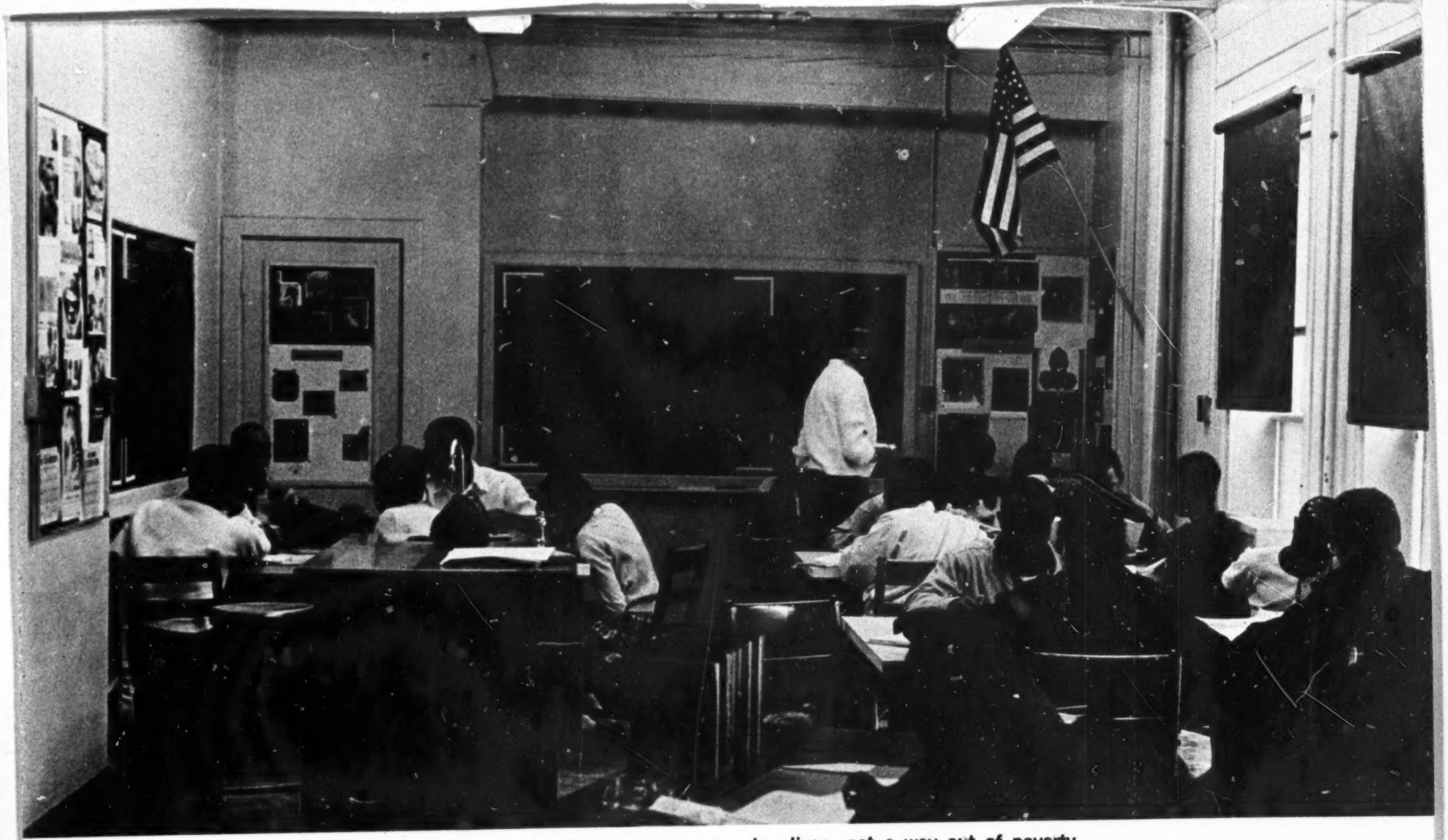
Toilets and drinking fountains in dark, dungeon-like basements are a handicap, not a way out of poverty.



Ancient vintage motors that cannot be started are a handicap, not a way out of poverty.



Inadequate instructional facilities are a handicap, not a way out of poverty.



Crowded, ill-equipped classrooms are a handicap, not a way out of poverty.

Crime, as it was defined by the University of Maryland study, was measured in two ways—reported offenses and number of arrests. A full 70 percent of the 54,212 arrests made in Baltimore were for "disorderly conduct, drunkenness, and miscellaneous minor crimes," and an additional 3,643 persons were arrested "on suspicion": 75 percent of all police activity in Baltimore is devoted to control of "nuisance behavior" in the slums.

The money spent on a bigger and better police force, which uses the majority of its resources in the control of nuisance behavior, is a noninvestment expenditure. Money spent on education is an investment expenditure. The money spent on the improvement of education does not eliminate the necessity for the other expenditure; but it does greatly decrease the amount of noninvestment expenditure on police, prisons, fire protection, unemployment compensation, welfare, and public health.

Under the present financial structure in Baltimore, the major source of revenue to finance all of the city's expenditures is derived from the real property tax; therefore this matter of investment versus noninvestment expenditure—getting the most for the tax dollar spent—is a crucial issue. There are groups in Baltimore who are burdened by the property tax and have a quite legitimate interest in desiring to keep the rate as low as possible and a right to expect the largest possible benefit to the community from their taxes. A substantial increase in the property tax has a significant effect on the standard of living of the home-owning group that includes wage-earners; municipal employees; and elderly, retired persons. It also affects the mother receiving a welfare check, who pays as much as 70 percent of it in rent which helps to pay the landlord's taxes.

Who loses from the failure of a community to invest in its children's education? Almost everyone—the children, the businessmen, and the taxpayers. But there are those who stand to gain from keeping the schools ill-equipped to serve the inner-city children, those who profit financially from the existence of a slum area: the organized gangster who runs the numbers racket and controls the traffic of narcotics, the unscrupulous merchant who has the corner on the ghetto "buy on credit" market, and the slum landlord.

The slum landlord is in business for the purpose of making a profit. Therefore, the landlord wants as many rental units to be occupied as possible. He wants as little maintenance expenditure as possible. And he wants his property taxes to be as low as possible.

To achieve high profits, many slum landlords split up one-family dwellings into dwellings that will accommodate, one way or another, several families. This results in the deterioration of the property from overcrowding and undermaintenance. This deterioration serves to lower the assessed valuation of the property, which in turn lowers the tax base.

The cause of the great bulk of the city's services and the steadily increasing need for them is the congested and hazardous housing conditions in the slum.

- More than 90 percent of the almost 22,000 fire calls made in Baltimore by November of 1966 were in the slums.
- Seventy-five percent of the arrest activity of the Baltimore Police Department was concentrated in this area.
- It is estimated that about 110,000 eviction cases a year are filed with the People's Court, better known as the Rent Court.
- The public health service treats hundreds of rat bites—mostly in children under the age of 10—in Baltimore City every year.

The owners of this property are not paying a fair share for these services. The poor and the people who pay taxes on their expensive residential property in the outer city are carrying the slum landlord on their backs.

Those who profit from the poverty of the slum people are the only ones in Baltimore who would be disadvantaged by the improvement of the ghetto schools. Everyone else—the children, the poor families, the taxpayers, the business community, the teachers—stands to gain enormous benefits from improved educational opportunity in the ghetto.

The citizens and officials of Baltimore City have been settling for the short-term gain and the long-term loss in their unwillingness to invest sufficiently in education. The industrialist who converts his operation to a more automated one because of the increased production capability that will result knows that his production will reach a virtual standstill during the conversion period. But if he fails to convert, he will not remain competitive, he will lose money, and he will eventually perhaps have to close down altogether. Baltimore's failure to make an adequate investment in education and future prosperity because of fear of the immediate cost is analogous to the industrialist's failure to modernize his operation. No one is to blame for the situation that exists in the city and in the schools—and yet almost everyone is. Almost everyone in Baltimore has contributed by inaction or by myopic vision to the situation. Some were caught in circumstances which left them very few alternatives. Others had options.

The children had no options. The poor had few options. The Negro poor had even fewer, if any. The poor are not poor out of choice. Negroes did not create the ghetto. These people have been victims of the kind of system which, as George Bernard Shaw said, forces a man to be a bootblack and then points to his occupation as proof of his inferiority.

The Public Bodies: How They Move

Public bodies are not autonomous, they do not act in a vacuum, and they rarely initiate their own actions. In ideal democratic theory, public bodies represent a constituency—the voters in the case of elected bodies and the "public good" in the case of appointed bodies. In expedient political reality also, public bodies represent a constituency. Sometimes it is neither the voters nor the public good. Public bodies operate in response to pressure. If each interest within the constituency exerts, in a full and unimpeded manner, its proportionate share of pressure on the public bodies, the actions of those bodies will reflect the public interest. If any interest within the constituency refrains or is blocked from exertion of its proportionate pressure, the public bodies become vulnerable to pressure in opposition to the public interest. It is not unnatural for any public body to act in accordance with the greatest pressure.

Not surprisingly, this is manifested in the actions of the public bodies in Baltimore with reference to the schools.

In the emphases in the school budget and in the way the money it receives from the city is spent, the school system shows itself to be responding to pressure and favoring the interests of those children whose parents are college-oriented, articulate about their children's educational needs, and vocal in their demands.

While the Baltimore Department of Education is justified in claiming that insufficient funds are being made available, the manner in which, in past years, the funds received have been allocated makes it apparent that the needs of some of the students, the decided minority, are being well served while the majority are being educationally starved. Past School Board budget requests presented to the city have been sadly deficient in giving a true picture of what the schools actually have needed in order to serve all of the children in Baltimore.

No one seems to have been effectively pressuring the public bodies to invest public money adequately in all of Baltimore's children. This has left the city government free to cut the school budget with little misgiving. One solution to Baltimore's school problems lies in the exercise of their proportionate pressure by the people who live in the slum area.

The Negro citizens in Baltimore have not been adequately represented at the seats of power. The old lines of the councilmanic districts contributed to this situation significantly, as they split up the ghetto into six divisions each of which was politically diluted in the district of which it was a part. The passage in November 1966 of the Modified Bard Redistricting Plan, which will be in effect in the next municipal election, should offer a greater possibility for the Negro vote to find realization in actual representation in the city government.

The allocation of the schools' resources results from the setting of priorities by school officials. The derivation of more resources from the state and from the federal government depends on both school and city officials—and the citizens of Maryland—and how effectively they are able to influence the setting of priorities by the Maryland State Legislature. The process of establishing priorities is responsive to expressed demand for services. Bodies in the process of establishing priorities are likely to be most responsive to an organized, expressed demand.

There must then be a coalition of the individuals and groups in Baltimore who exert organized pressure for the children, the schools, and the public good. The constituent parts of this coalition should include civil rights groups, community organizations and civic interest groups, colleges and universities, the teachers association, the Council of PTA's, the churches, and enlightened business and industrial leadership.

Financing the Change

The School Board should face squarely the social consequences of the manner in which it has allocated school money with the assistance of the superintendent, the teaching staff, and outside advisers. The Board should realistically assess alternatives in terms of ultimate consequences and formulate budgets that accurately reflect the needs of the schools.

- Budgets are necessary which attempt to do something about the appalling problem of large classes illustrated by the following data:

Table 8. Class Size, September 30, 1964

Type of Class	*Number of Classes According to Number of Pupils*							
	1–19	*20–24*	*25–29*	*30–34*	*35–39*	*40–44*	*45–49*	*50 and over*
Elementary	3	8	107	875	1,330	299	12	7
Junior high (by teaching section)								
English	64	26	73	242	362	247	31	—
Mathematics	5	26	77	233	358	244	35	—
Science	11	27	70	224	356	241	33	—
Hist./Geog.	9	31	90	301	477	329	47	—
Senior high (by teaching section)								
English	38	119	190	237	256	54	3	—
Mathematics	19	51	105	146	161	39	3	1
Science	38	65	121	192	242	86	17	59
Hist./Geog.	14	58	114	196	231	57	5	—

Elementary classes—36.1 median Junior high classes—34.3 median
Senior high classes—32.5 median

Source: Bureau of Research, Baltimore City Public Schools

- Budgets are necessary that will add the specialized professional staff required to serve the needs of all children—especially those in the slum areas, whose needs are so great. The Board of School Commissioners should take full advantage of the state incentive aid available for providing sufficient professional staff. Again, the table below indicates that the city has been lagging behind the state average, even though most of the funds for staffing to a ratio of 50 professionals per 1,000 students are provided by the state:

Table 9. Staffing—Professional Staff Members per 1,000 Pupils, 1957-1966

Year	*State average*	*Baltimore City*	*Difference*
1957	38.2	38.3	+ .1
1958	39.3	39.5	+ .2
1959	40.0	40.2	+ .2
1960	40.8	41.2	+ .4
1961	41.1	41.4	+ .3
1962	41.0	41.2	+ .2
1963	43.1	41.6	−1.5
1964	45.2	42.7	−2.5
1965	46.2	44.0	−2.2
1966	46.8	43.7	−3.1

Source: Maryland State Department of Education

- Budgets are necessary that recognize the need to pay professional salaries to attract and retain good teachers. Salaries must not only be competitive with those in the suburban areas and other big cities but must also be high enough to provide incentives to attract the well-qualified teachers to the city, in spite of its problems. It may be wise to appeal to the spirit of dedication in teachers to get them to apply for positions in the ghetto schools, but to ask them to also make the financial sacrifice illustrated below is unwise, unrealistic, and unfair.

Table 10. Teacher Earnings, Based on 1966-67 Salaries

Subdivision	*Cumulative earnings in 15 years*	*Baltimore City cumulative earnings in comparison*
Anne Arundel County	$114,700	−$5,650
Baltimore City	109,050	
Baltimore County	113,300	− 4,250
Howard County	111,375	− 2,325
Montgomery County	116,765	− 7,715
Prince George's County	115,864	− 6,814

Source: Maryland State Teachers Association

Before Baltimore can hope to attract the good teachers needed to provide improvements in its schools, the recruiters from the Department of Education must be prepared to offer teachers' salaries that are among the best in the nation.

The city must provide more local revenue to the schools than it has in the past. This may require establishing new priorities among the municipal departmental budgets. City officials who have a realistic idea of what the schools, and therefore the city, require must be elected. The mayor makes the ultimate decisions about money granted to the schools through the commissioner of finance, the city fiscal advisor, and the director of finance, and through his majority on the City Board of Estimates. The appointments the mayor makes to these bodies and offices are crucial in establishing city policy toward the schools.

But the City of Baltimore cannot by itself raise sufficient money, or produce sufficient money from a review of spending priorities, to adequately finance the schools, or the city services generally. The State of Maryland must recognize the unique contributions which Baltimore makes to the state and the unique burdens imposed on the city. The distribution of state aid to education must be changed to recognize the unusual problems which have been identified in this investigation. Provision should be made for greater assistance in replacing obsolete buildings. Special pupil needs should be recognized by allowing additional funds for handicapped pupils, regardless of whether their handicaps are physical, mental, emotional, social, or environmental.[11]

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[11] The Special Committee has been advised that the tax reform legislation recently enacted by the Maryland General Assembly makes provision for some new approaches to the distribution of state aid to education. These approaches should prove immediately beneficial, but the search for a more meaningful distribution formula should be continued.

The influx of millions of dollars in additional state funds to Baltimore through the Agnew-Hughes-Lee program should stimulate some dramatic improvements in the public schools. The assignment of priorities for the use of these additional funds must reflect recognition of the overwhelming problems in the ghetto schools and the dangers inherent in the shortsighted expenditure of too little money to attract and retain good teachers.

"The problems in the Baltimore public schools cannot be solved unless the roots of these problems are acknowledged and their implications faced."

Recommendations

The record of 50 years of failure of Baltimore City to improve the physical conditions in the inner-city schools and the consequent danger to the safety of Baltimore children is quite readily obvious to anyone who reads this report or who visits the schools directly. The record of failure in other important aspects of support for education is not as obvious, but may be an even greater threat to the educational welfare of Baltimore children and the future of the city. The failure to provide equal educational opportunities to the children in all sections of the city is clear. The failure to provide a salary schedule for school employees that will attract and hold the most competent educators is of growing concern. The failure to eradicate the slum areas and the tragic effects of such areas on the children and on the economy of the city is of accelerating danger. The failure to provide facilities and services to compensate for the handicaps that children of the inner city have suffered is a threat of greater costs in years to come.

The failure of the city to maintain its position of pre-eminence as a source of revenue in the state and the failure of state legislatures in the past to provide adequately for the children of Maryland's largest city threatens the possibility of improvement of conditions in Baltimore public schools. Unless and until there is a reawakening of citizens and of public officials and an emergency effort is made to provide critically needed financial help, the current dangerous conditions will worsen.

The NEA Special Committee for the Baltimore City investigation does not believe that there has been a studied neglect of Baltimore schools. Rather, it is the opinion of the Committee that the conditions in the schools have deteriorated as a result of a number of factors, including the several changes of chief administrative officer; the failure of communication to make clear the problems as well as the achievements of the schools; the inability of the teacher organizations to arouse the community to the magnitude and danger of the situation in the schools; the lack of constructive support from the newspapers with the largest circulations in the community; the inexperience and ineffectiveness in seeking improvement of citizens of those sections of the community most in need of attention and assistance; the resistance of some elements of the city to change and to needed sacrifice for the benefit of the majority of the population; and the frustrations emanating from the rapid growth in number and complexity of problems faced by the officials of a modern, large urban community.

The following recommendations are offered in the hope that they will point out some of the areas that deserve priority for improving conditions in Baltimore City schools and will also be helpful in indicating agencies and individuals who bear primary responsibility for initiating action.

Improved Financial Support

The NEA Special Committee recommends that all responsible city officials and citizens of Baltimore assume their full responsibility for providing the increased financial support basic to any improvement of conditions in the schools. In the case of Baltimore, such improvement must constitute a far greater effort than normal, in order to compensate for the failures of the past. It must be based on more than year-to-year patchwork action; the problems in the Baltimore schools are so deep-seated that they require detailed, long-range planning. The responsibility for preparing realistic estimates of financial needs of the schools for the instructional, operating, and maintenance programs and for new school construction lies first on the school administration and next on the Board of Education. Inevitably, provision of necessary funds is the responsibility of the City Council. The State Legislature also bears an important responsibility to the city where about one-fourth of the children of Maryland receive their education in elementary and secondary schools.

New or additional monies received from the state for school purposes should not be used to offset funds from local sources, but should be placed immediately in the school account and should be supplemented by increased local funds, until the downward trend of conditions in the inner city is halted and obviously reversed. Means must be found to help the people throughout the state, particularly those in the immediate suburbs of Baltimore, to recognize their mutual reliance and interdependence.

City and school officials in Baltimore should take emergency action to replace the ancient and dangerous school buildings of the inner city. The threat to the lives and safety of hundreds of children is a shameful condition that has been allowed to exist far too long. The mayor, the commissioner of finance, the Board of Estimates, and the City Council have consistently reduced even the austerity budgets of the School Commissioners; budgets already too low to ensure even the remedying of some of the worst conditions in the schools. Baltimore City officials have known of these conditions in many schools for over 45 years: these officials will be held to account if the lives and well-being of many children are damaged or lost because of their neglect. Several school buildings should be closed immediately; in fact should have been closed years ago. Baltimore needs a "crash program" of building, staffing, and programing schools in the slum areas that will be so effective, attractive, and keyed to the community needs that it will turn them from areas of hopelessness and frustration to areas of promise and enthusiasm for the city's future.

Mass Media of Communication

The newspapers, radio, and television in the Baltimore area must be made more aware of the dramatic possibility and public responsibility for making the citizens of Baltimore and of the state aware of the problems and needs of Baltimore's children. Although most of these agencies have been doing a reasonably good job of reporting local news as it has been made available to them, two of the largest newspapers in Baltimore have often been antagonistic in attitude, destructive in criticism, and myopic in vision concerning the children, the teachers, and the schools of Baltimore. One of these two newspapers predicted that this investigation would repeat the "tired, old comments about the school building situation in Baltimore." There is no doubt that many of the school buildings are old. And these newspapers as well as some city officials may be tired of being reminded of their responsibility to the children in such school buildings. But unless there is a new and vigorous effort to improve the educational welfare of the children of the inner city of Baltimore, these newspapers must bear an important share of responsibility for the tragedies that may occur.

The NEA Special Committee reminds the mass media of communication in Baltimore that it is time to stop the excuses for the deteriorating conditions of the inner city and for the 50-year record of neglect of responsibility and to show leadership in this area commensurate with their influence and obligation. In turn, the school system should set up procedures for providing timely and accurate information concerning the needs, problems, progress, and achievements of the schools.

The Mayor

The Special Committee recommends that the mayor of Baltimore use his authority and influence to give the correction of the deplorable educational conditions the first priority in continuing the revitalization of the city. By demanding that his fiscal advisers and the Board of Estimates take a realistic look at the problems resulting from poor educational opportunity, the mayor can add greatly to the success of finding solutions to such problems. The present mayor has shown commendable commitment to such projects as the Charles Center and Inner Harbor projects, urban renewal, and the improvement of cultural and recreational facilities: similar or greater commitment to the educational welfare of the citizens of Baltimore would ensure needed advancement.

It is recommended that the mayor adopt a plan for a school board nominating convention, whereby responsible agencies in the community would submit for his consideration the names of persons suitable for appointment to each vacancy on the Board of School Commissioners. In many instances, the mayor exercises control over city policy and school policy more through his power of appointment than through his administrative or personal influence. Appointive bodies should represent, not just limited neighborhood interests, but the public good.

The ultimate responsibility for any governmental service in Baltimore resides in the mayor. He is in the key position to effect the changes necessary to reverse the trend of deterioration in the inner-city schools. He can effectively reinstate a part of the franchise which is being denied to the residents of slum areas of Baltimore. Vision and leadership are essential in this office if the schools of Baltimore are to meet the challenge of this day and the future.

The City Council

It is recommended that the members of the City Council assume greater personal and official responsibility for awakening their constituents to the needs of the children and the public school system of the city. In 1965, the president of the City Council promised strong support to the executive secretary of the Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore City in advancing a number of programs for the welfare of the schools. This promise apparently was not carried out in later actions when political pressures were built up for other activities and projects. Although by its very nature the City Council will respond to those agencies and organizations that exert the greatest pressure on it, responsible members of the Council can alter the pattern of actions and reactions by involving and encouraging groups that are now relatively inactive but that represent basic needs of the children of their constituency.

The Special Committee recommends that the City Council reconsider its role as a budget-cutting agency and recognize its responsibility to encourage submission of budgets designed realistically for meeting the needs of Baltimore citizens. The whole city suffers when its officials allow conditions to develop that are a source of shame and a threat to the lives of a large group of its citizens. The reputation and potential for future growth of the city call for concern beyond the saving of a few cents on the tax rate through school budget cuts.

It is also recommended that means be found to make the continuance of substandard property in the inner city of Baltimore an increasingly poor investment. Conversely, tax saving should be allowed for property owners who endeavor to improve property in the inner city to make it attractive and to exceed the basic health, fire, and land usage requirements. Such penalizing of slum conditions and rewarding of investment for improvements will not only relieve problems for the schools, but will eventually improve the economy and welfare of the entire city.

The Board of School Commissioners

The Special Committee urges the Board of School Commissioners to develop, in cooperation with responsible community agencies, a master plan for providing equality of educational opportunity for all of the children in the city. Such a plan should indicate the immediate and long-term priorities for eliminating the dangerous areas in the schools and for developing facilities and appropriate programs in the schools of the inner city that will be a source of pride, rather than embarrassment, for the city and the state.

The Special Committee recommends that the School Commissioners encourage and support the establishment of a public relations office under the supervision of the superintendent of schools. This office should provide for receiving information from the community as well as providing information to it. An effective public relations program requires an office that is adequately financed and effectively staffed to make two-way communication simple and rapid among the Commissioners, the school administration, the teachers, and the community.

It is recommended further that the School Commissioners make special efforts to find and employ teachers who are prepared to cope with the problems of inner-city schools. Teachers must be prepared to help develop changing schools for changing communities. Such individuals must have the professional and emotional stamina as well as the knowledge and skill to deal with the difficult problems of slum area schools. The Board must also make special arrangements so that teachers may contact the homes of the pupils and help to adjust the schools to the needs of the area.

It is recommended that the Board of School Commissioners develop arrangements for involving teachers or their representatives in the formulation of all policies which will affect their conditions of employment and in the development of plans for improvement of the school program. A board of education should adopt policies that provide it access to the ideas, experience, and talents of its entire staff in planning and instituting programs of any nature that affect the welfare of the children, the teachers, or the schools. A plan for professional negotiations with the staff and a grievance procedure should be given top priority by the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners.

It is recommended that the Board of School Commissioners institute regularly scheduled public hearings on the annual budget before its adoption by the Commissioners. The Board should expect to receive from its staff a clear indication of the needs and priorities of adequate school financing. It should expect and welcome the interest of parents and other citizens concerning the efficiency and wisdom of its use of money provided for the schools.

The Special Committee suggests that the superintendent of schools be given a contractual arrangement comparable to that of other certificated employees in the school system or other superintendents in Maryland. An indefinite employment relationship that may be summarily severed without reasonable notice or at an inconvenient time in the school year is not suitable to the importance of the position of chief school officer of a school system.

It is urged that the Board of School Commissioners seek expert assistance to relieve the crisis brought about by the accumulation of dangerous conditions in inner-city schools before they are held culpable for the losses which are threatening many children. A study of the Baltimore fire prevention code indicates that the laws are available to relieve some of the danger areas if they are properly enforced. A self-survey of the school system with expert, specialized assistance from other sources could be of great help in setting priorities for action. The reports of studies of previous years, even of more than 45 years ago, could be used as guidelines for greatly needed action.

The School Administration

The Special Committee recommends that the superintendent of schools recognize and accept his present unusual opportunities for educational leadership. The present superintendent of schools is too recently in his position to be praised or blamed for his efforts. In the "honeymoon period" of his relationships with his employers, his staff, and the community, he is in an enviable position to demonstrate leadership in the finding and exploiting of solutions for Baltimore's critical public school problems. The success of his term in office in Baltimore will depend on whether he meets his obligation for advising and promoting the activities of the Board of School Commissioners; counseling and encouraging the efforts of his fellow professional educators on the staff; serving as spokesman for the Board of School Commissioners and the staff in contacts with the general public; hearing and responding to the needs of the various segments of the school system; and recognizing and implementing initiative and ingenuity in the solution of school problems, rather than on his efforts to keep the school budget low.

It is recommended that the superintendent insist upon a written contract for a specified period of years. To take the radical creative action that is needed to reverse the downward trend of public education in Baltimore demands courage to act in areas of extreme controversy and to make recommendations and even take actions that might be displeasing to some members of the Board. The community, school board, and city officials owe it to their superintendent of schools and to themselves to give to the position the security of continuance in office that is essential to strong leadership in solving the problems in the schools. If the granting of such a contractual relationship is currently prevented by state or local restrictions, those restraints should be removed.

It is urged that the superintendent give special attention to developing better communication with his immediate staff, the teachers, and the community. The position of a superintendent in a large city is a hazardous one at best. He may be faced with coalitions of forces that developed before he assumed his position, both within and outside the school system. If he fails to develop effective communication, he is unlikely to succeed with even modest plans for change.

Professional Education Organizations

The Special Committee recommends that the Public School Teachers Association take immediate and continuing initiative in advancing the recommendations of this report. Teachers as well as other professional persons have a deep and abiding responsibility for improving their working conditions and obtaining assurance of successful practice of their professional skills. The provision of a high quality of educational opportunities in Baltimore should be a challenge to educators of that city and the profession as a whole. The PSTA can determine whether this report, like others in the past, will be shelved and soon forgotten or be an instrument to help inaugurate a finer era for the children and teachers of Baltimore.

It is further recommended that the Public School Teachers Association encourage and support the formation of a council of community organizations for improvement of the inner-city schools. With the cooperation of parents, civic, business, professional, and civil rights organizations working together to develop cohesive political pressure in behalf of equal and excellent educational opportunities, changes can be made in a relatively short period of time. These organizations should be actively concerned in broad problems that affect the city as a whole as well as the schools.

It is recommended that publications be developed and distributed to aid individual teachers in understanding and explaining the problems of the Baltimore schools. Individual educators can promote better schools through active participation in community organizations. Several thousand college-trained teachers comprise a sizable portion of the intellectual community of Baltimore. The organizations of professional educators should encourage their members to explain school and community problems in the city as they participate in the meetings of other organizations and meet with parents and other citizens.

It is recommended that the Public School Teachers Association encourage its members to take a much more active part, both individually and collectively, in politics, particularly in the local and state elections. In the final analysis, the correction of educational conditions in the city will depend on the actions of public officials who are elected to office. For this reason, professional educators must exercise their full citizenship responsibilities in helping to elect to public office those officials who represent the public good and in joining with other groups to apply the pressure necessary to keep the officials responsive and responsible.

It is recommended that the Public School Teachers Association work diligently to secure the opportunity—and ensure its use—for teachers to participate in the development of plans and policies for the Baltimore City Public School System. The PSTA is commended for bringing the intolerable conditions in some Baltimore schools to the attention of the citizens of Baltimore and the profession at large. Such efforts are an exercise in professional responsibility. However, modern conditions call for continuing participation of professional educators in helping the official policy-making bodies of the city, particularly those responsible for the schools, in the development, implementation, and improvement of the entire school program.

The Special Committee urges the teachers of Baltimore to encourage the offering of in-service training to help them deal with urban slum problems as they affect the schools. To relieve the crisis in Baltimore will require unusual patience, experience, perception, and skill from many members of the staff of the schools. Progress for all schools in Baltimore will be retarded unless and until the problems of the inner-city schools are solved. The critical needs for staffing the inner-city schools should be a challenge to all of the teacher preparatory colleges in the area. The importance of finding practicable solutions to the problems of children in such schools is a challenge to every truly professional educator.

The Special Committee recommends that the Maryland State Teachers Association continue and strengthen its leadership in seeking the active support of state legislators and members of other influential statewide groups with an interest in good schools. Since a major part of the solution of the problems of the schools will be found only through access to new sources of money and increased financial assistance, state and national organizations of the teaching profession must accept responsibility for assisting in the resolution of the educational problems in Baltimore. Special efforts must be made in Annapolis and in Washington to gain additional aid for Baltimore. Persons throughout the State of Maryland must be made to realize their interdependence with the City of Baltimore and their consequent dependence on good schools in that city.

The Business Community

The Special Committee recommends that the Greater Baltimore Committee, and other groups interested in revitalizing the inner city, give vigorous support to the replacement of the obsolete and dangerous school buildings in Baltimore. The shameful conditions in some of the schools of Baltimore have existed so long that it will take more than normal efforts to improve the situation. The Greater Baltimore Committee has demonstrated its effectiveness in the kind of impetus it gave to the Charles Center and the Inner Harbor Project. Current ventures in removing downtown blight demonstrate the kind of imaginative approach that is needed for the inner-city schools. New concepts such as high-rise school buildings and educational parks deserve immediate consideration along with other experiments in large cities.

It is recommended that business and industrial officials give greater attention to the need to supply job opportunities for young people, without regard to race, religion, or economic or national background. Encouragement should be given to effective guidance counseling and to provision of opportunity for students to become better acquainted with the requirements and opportunities of Baltimore businesses and industries.

It is further recommended that the Baltimore area Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy make a careful, impartial study of the real costs of inadequate education. This report has pointed out some of the financial consequences of insufficient support for public education. The challenge to the business community is to recognize these consequences and to act to preserve the financial stability of the city. Some thought must also be given to the status of the credit rating of Baltimore if the conditions identified in this report should be allowed to continue or worsen.

Citizens of Baltimore

The Special Committee recommends that the citizens of Baltimore recognize that the reputation and well-being of the entire city are threatened by the prolonged neglect of its inner-city schools. There have been other important studies and reports revealing the deplorable conditions, beginning at least as far back as 1921. The Citizens Committee report of about two years ago pointed out the need for improvement of the school program as well as school buildings; implementation of the recommendations of that report would help to relieve many undesirable conditions. Complacence and inertia on the part of the rank and file of citizens will mean a continuing retrogression of Baltimore schools and a loss to the economy of the city. Baltimore cannot afford to allow another 45 years to go by without the strenuous efforts for improvement that apparently did not develop following the revelations of the Strayer report.

It is further recommended that a conference of community leaders be called to develop plans for a political power coalition to attack the problems that prevent educational improvement in Baltimore. Although individual organizations have a responsibility, much less of value will be accomplished as long as each organization works independently. Elsewhere it has been suggested that the Public School Teachers Association might assume initial responsibility for calling such a coalition. Individuals and groups in Baltimore who should be helpful in such a combining of efforts include civil rights groups such as the Federation of Civil Rights Organizations, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Urban League, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; community organizations and civic interest groups such as Woman Power, Neighbors, Inc., Community Action, and the League of Women Voters; business groups such as the Greater Baltimore Committee, the Voluntary Council for Equal Employment Opportunities, Inc., and the Tuesday Afternoon Businessmen's Club. Such a coalition must include such groups as the Council of Parent Teacher Associations; the churches; the teachers association; colleges and universities; and representatives of the enlightened business, industrial, and labor agencies. A coalition of these forces could constitute a political power bloc that would be a formidable force for the greatly needed changes and improvements in the Baltimore school system, particularly in the inner city.

Fundamentally what is needed is action—united action to halt the deterioration and to ensure emergency attention for Baltimore's greatest potential asset—the education of its young people.

Appendix A: Sanction Alert (Excerpt)

Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore

THE STATE OF THE CURRENT CRISIS

A letter from your President

Dear PSTA Member:

Baltimore schools now face the most serious crisis in their history.

For years Baltimoreans prided themselves on having one of the finest public school systems in the State. A number of years ago children from the surrounding areas often went to some pains to attend City schools. Many Baltimore citizens are unaware of the degree to which this picture has changed.

Although the dedication of Baltimore teachers has attempted to fill a void of public support the fact remains that in the past few years the increasing needs of our City schools and the lack of financial support for them have pushed our schools down far below the levels of the surrounding counties in such statistics of quality as amount spent per pupil, class size, etc.

This has been called "the quiet crisis". In recent weeks Baltimoreans have seen the quiet crisis explode, as the organized teaching profession in this City has decided that things have regressed far enough!

There comes a time in every war of words or every battle of practical politics when those who believe in what they are doing must stand up and fight.

Among nations that is known as a declaration of war. In schools it is known as the invocation of professional sanctions. Neither step is taken lightly, but when a nation which is not military by nature decides that the time has come to fight the motivating force is always the same—the future happiness of its children. This is true of professional organizations also. Sanctions are never called just because teachers want more money for themselves. They are called when teachers realize that they are the last ones left who can fight for the children . . . and the only ones left who will fight for teachers.

We have decided to fight. On May 19 the Representative Assembly of PSTA said that Baltimore teachers would fight; they authorized the Executive Board of PSTA to invoke sanctions against Baltimore if the City Council does not approve the salary schedule and the additional positions requested by the School Board.

The history of the present crisis goes back several years. We all know that budgets have been cut severely a number of times in the past. Despite protests by PSTA the Board of School Commissioners brought out last year's budget request for salaries (which they had called an inadequate request last year) and sent it to the Board of Estimates. Only by the determined effort of PSTA, culminating in the march of 3,000 teachers on City Hall, were we able to keep this compromise-ridden budget from being further reduced. We know that *even with* this new budget City salaries will be smaller and City classes larger than those of the surrounding counties!

Now there is talk that the City Council, faced with increasing taxes, may cut the budget further. Under this obvious threat to the future of our school system the Representative Assembly met in special session and unanimously adopted resolutions saying that they *will not accept* any further compromises and they *will stand and fight* if the City Council fails to act to save the schools.

RENE B. FREUND
President

"We reaffirm the voice vote by PSTA members on May 2 and authorize the Executive Board to impose such professional sanctions as the Executive Board deems necessary and desirable, except that should an Executive Board sanction call for any withdrawal of services the consent of a majority of members on a written ballot submitted for signature to all PSTA members shall be required."

Representative Assembly—May 19, 1966

Appendix B: PSTA Sanctions

PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, INC.
106 EAST CHASE STREET • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

The Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore City invokes professional sanctions against the City of Baltimore unless the Baltimore City Council votes in favor of the professional staffing and the salary schedule in the Board of Education budget forwarded to the City Council by the Board of Estimates. The City Council must publicly demonstrate its commitment to these items on or before June 13, 1966. It can do so by passing the Ordinance of Estimates or by passing Resolution 1478, thereby pledging itself to adoption of the proposed teachers' salary scale.

Should the City Council fail to take either of these positive actions by June 13, the Public School Teachers Association will on June 14 invoke the following sanctions:

1. Notification to business and industry that those considering locating or expanding facilities in this area should know that an unfavorable climate for public education, resulting from an inadequately supported public school system, exists in the City of Baltimore
2. Announcement to the 212,000 registered voter parents of Baltimore public school children and to all teachers the names of those City Councilmen who were not committed to the staffing and salary schedule and consequently not committed to quality education in Baltimore
3. Establishment by PSTA of an employment service to assist Baltimore teachers who wish to leave the City in finding good teaching jobs elsewhere
4. A request to the Maryland State Teachers Association and the National Education Association to investigate the deterioration of education in the Baltimore City Public Schools and to join us in professional sanctions against this city
5. Notification to colleges and universities that their graduates will find little chance for success in the field of teaching if they accept jobs in Baltimore
6. Notification to teacher placement agencies that their clients can expect low starting salaries and a poor financial future if they accept teaching positions in Baltimore
7. Informing the citizens of Baltimore of the serious deterioration of their school system and of the above actions of the PSTA

8. Notification to all professional education associations and Boards of Education in Maryland of the condition of the Baltimore City Public Schools and the action of the Public School Teachers Association
9. Preparation of a ballot, to be distributed to PSTA members in the fall, whereby they could vote to withdraw non-instructional services during the next school year.

These sanctions will be lifted by the Executive Board of the Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore at such time as that Board is assured that adequate financial support for the schools of the city will be forthcoming.

Passed unanimously by the Executive Board, June 7, 1966, under permissive authority granted by the Representative Assembly, May 24, 1966.

Appendix C: NEA-MSTA Sanctions Warning

Hon. Thomas D'Alesandro, III
President, City Council
City Hall
Baltimore, Maryland

Dr. Lawrence Paquin
Superintendent of Schools
Board of Education
3 East 25th Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin
Mayor of Baltimore
City Hall
Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. Milson C. Raver
Maryland State Teachers Assn.
344 N. Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland

June 20, 1966

The Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association at its meeting June 19 recommended a warning be issued to the Mayor, the City Council and other appropriate agencies of Baltimore that a failure to improve quickly the public school situation in that city will lead to an immediate recommendation to the Executive Committee of NEA for the prompt imposition of state and national sanctions. The Commission has received reports statistics and other information which indicate substantial decline of the quality of public education in Baltimore. This situation caused the public school teachers association to invoke local sanctions. Testimony presented to the Commission makes it appear that the local association was justified in taking vigorous action to bring the crisis facing the Baltimore schools into sharp focus. The Commission understands that the City Council will make a decision on the school budget on Monday, June 20th. If necessary funds to provide for essential improvements of the educational conditions [in] the city are not forthcoming in the budget under consideration the National Education Association must be prepared to take the necessary steps regarding the imposition of appropriate state and national sanctions. The Maryland State Teachers Association supports the action of the Public School Teachers Association and joins in this joint statement.

William G. Carr, Executive Secretary
National Education Association

Milson C. Raver
Executive Secretary
Maryland State Teachers Assn.

Appendix D: MSTA Sanctions

SUPPORT FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS ASSOCIATION OF BALTIMORE CITY

We, the teachers of Maryland, abhor the deplorable conditions of the schools of the City of Baltimore, the inequality of educational opportunity offered its children and the impossible teaching conditions facing our colleagues in Baltimore.

We commend the Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore for the courage and sense of professional responsibility demonstrated by its imposition of sanctions against the City of Baltimore.

We are also proud of the Maryland State Teachers Association for its immediate support of the PSTA, for having invoked sanctions on a statewide basis, and for actively participating in the National Education Association's investigation of educational conditions in Baltimore.

Since the conditions which brought about these actions have not been improved, and since members of our profession practicing in the City of Baltimore are still expected to provide education of high quality under impossible conditions, we, the teachers of Maryland, meeting in this annual assembly to speak for our profession do hereby declare that:

We urge all teachers in Maryland to refrain from applying for any professional position in the Baltimore City Public Schools;

We advise all teacher-preparation institutions in the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia of the educational conditions in the City of Baltimore and urge them to advise their students of these conditions and to avoid recommending that their students seek positions there;

We advise our Executive Board to continue to provide maximum assistance to teachers of Baltimore City seeking new professional positions elsewhere in Maryland;

This Association hereby goes on record in full support of currently imposed sanctions against the City of Baltimore and in support of any subsequent additional sanctions the Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore City may impose; and,

We also ask the Executive Board to continue to take the strongest actions necessary to halt the decline of public education in the City of Baltimore and institute immediate steps to raise the level of the educational offering.

Adopted by the Representative Assembly of the MSTA on October 15, 1966.